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CHRISTIAN GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.

FOR USE IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

VOL. III.

TERTULLIAN.

"What an heaven lives a scholar in, that at once in one close room can daily converse with all the glorious martyrs and fathers!—that can single out at pleasure either SENTENTIOUS TERTULLIAN, or grave Cyprian, or resolute Hierome, or flowing Chrysostom, or divine Ambrose, or devout Bernard, or (who alone is all these) heavenly Augustine, and talk with them, and hear their wise and holy counsels, verdicts, resolutions; yea (to rise higher), with courtly Esay, with learned Paul, with all their fellow-prophets, apostles; yet more, like another Moses, with God himself in them both! Let the world contemn us; while we have these delights we can not envy them, we can not wish ourselves other than we are."—Bishop HALL: *A Discourse of the Pleasure of Study and Contemplation.*

NOTICE.

It is remarkable that no place has been given in the schools and colleges of England and America to the writings of the early Christians. For many centuries, and down to what is called the Pagan Renaissance, they were the common linguistic study of educated Christians. The stern piety of those times thought it wrong to dally with the sensual frivolities of heathen poets, and never imagined it possible that the best years of youth should be spent in mastering the refinements of a mythology and life which at first they feared and loathed, and which at last became as remote and unreal to them as the Veda is to us.

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THE SELECT WORKS

OF

TERTULLIAN.

EDITED FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY F. A. MARCH, LL.D.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY LYMAN COLEMAN, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

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PREFACE.

Tertullian ranks in many respects with the heathen classic authors. He might have talked with a son of Tacitus; he was a century earlier than Constantine and Eusebius; three centuries before Boethius and Priscian. His works are full of the heathen life. His Latin is worked up in our dictionaries. There had been no change to speak of in the language of educated Romans since the time of Tacitus. The great authors of this generation were Africans, and most of them Christians; but the Africans were purists in their Latin, and there is no more difference between the speech of Tacitus and Tertullian than between that of Bacon and of Jonathan Edwards, or Pitt and Webster.

Tertullian is the earliest of the Latin fathers, a representative man, with a representative man's share of interesting idiosyncrasies. He wrote much, and on many subjects. He fought fiercely for a great many odd notions, and argued at great length against other

notions as odd as his own. He is best known to many of us by Sir Thomas Browne's mention of that odd resolution of knotty problems which he says he learned out of Tertullian, *Credo quia impossibile.* His long-drawn arguments on speculative points have become arid wastes to our popular readers, just like those of Plato and Cicero, and all the other ancient writers. The common talk of the difficulty of his style applies mainly to this part of his writings. Heresy-hunters browse the thistles, and give him a bad name. The selections in this book are of a different class. The trumpet-note of cheer to martyrs, the solemn appeal to universal reason to testify for God and immortality, the demand for justice, the rebuke of reigning shams, the glorification of self-denial, sobriety, purity, are the substance of them. The symbol of a flaming heart, which painters use for Augustine, is fully as good for Tertullian, and no one utters himself better. That his words are not rhetorical gymnastics, but action, matter of life and death to him, makes them powerful to move others to like thoughts and acts; and such thinking and acting is the best fruit of culture.

The text of Leopold has been used, with occasional corrections from Oehler. The notes, so far as special research is concerned, have their material mostly from

Oehler, Havercamp, and Woodham. I should have been glad to put a good general discussion of African Latinity in place of the few remarks on the style and grammar of Tertullian which the study of these works has afforded; but I have not found such material as the Science of Language at the present day demands. Some of the writers who have treated the subject do not specify a single word or phrase which they venture to stand on as African. Most of the striking facts in Tertullian's speech are individual peculiarities, such as we find in Carlyle or Emerson. The African traits are, like New England traits, not easy to specify. Niebuhr, Ebert, and others, find nothing to be called African.

Tertullian is a great favorite at Lafayette, and several of our professors have helped in making this book. Our venerable Professor of Latin, Dr. Coleman, who is so well and widely known by his works on the antiquities of the Christian Church, has always found in Tertullian a man after his own heart,—a Puritan of Puritans. The suggestion that he should help us brought back the old times when he talked Tertullian over with Neander in Germany, and their zeal kindled. He has contributed sketches of his life and character, and the contents of these selections. Prof.

King has heard our Freshman class read the introductory treatises, and has prepared elementary exposition and grammatical references to smooth the path of beginners; and Prof. Bloombergh has read the Apology, and made notes on the peculiarities of Tertullian, especially of his syntax, in which students will recognize the nicety and accuracy of the best German scholarship. Two treatises of the highest interest have been left without notes for teachers who prefer to have their students read without such aids. Grammatical remarks and a copious index have been added. On the whole, it is hoped the book may answer pretty well the modest purpose for which it is published.

F. A. M.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, EASTON, PA., *October*, 1875.

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AD MARTYRES.

I. Inter carnis alimenta, benedicti martyres designati, quae vobis et domina mater ecclesia de uberibus suis et singuli fratres de opibus suis propriis in carcerem subministrant, capite aliquid et a nobis quod faciat ad spiritum quoque educandum. Carnem enim saginari et spiritum esurire non prodest: imo si quod infirmum est curatur, aeque quod infirmius est negligi non debet. Nec tantus ego sum, ut vos alloquar; veruntamen et gladiatores perfectissimos non tantum magistri et praepositi sui, sed etiam idiotae et supervacue quique adhortantur de longinquo, ut saepe de ipso populo dictata suggesta profuerint. Inprimis ergo, benedicti, nolite contristare spiritum sanctum, qui vobiscum introiit carcerem. Si enim non vobiscum nunc introisset, nec vos illic hodie fuissetis. Et ideo date operam, ut illic vobiscum perseveret: ita vos inde perducat ad dominum. Domus quidem diaboli est et carcer, in qua familiam suam continet. Sed vos ideo in carcerem pervenistis, ut illum etiam in domo sua conculcetis: iam enim foris congressi conculcaveratis. Non ergo dicat: In meo sunt, tentabo illos vilibus inediis, defectionibus aut inter se dissensionibus. Fugiat conspectum vestrum, et in ima sua delitescat contractus et torpens, tanquam coluber excantatus aut effumigatus. Nec

illi tam bene sit in suo regno, ut vos committat: sed inveniat munitos et concordia armatos, quia pax vestra bellum est illi. Quam pacem quidam in ecclesia non habentes, a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt. Et ideo eam etiam propterea in vobis habere et fovere et custodire debetis, ut si forte et aliis praestare possitis.

II. Cetera aeque animi impedimenta usque ad limen carceris deduxerint vos, quousque et parentes vestri. Exinde segregati estis ab ipso mundo; quanto magis a seculo rebusque eius? Nec hoc vos consternet, quod segregati estis a mundo. Si enim recogitemus ipsum magis mundum carcerem esse, exisse vos e carcere, quam in carcerem introisse, intelligemus. Maiores tenebras habet mundus, quae hominum praecordia excaecant. Graviores catenas induit mundus, quae ipsas animas hominum constringunt; peiores immunditias exspirat mundus, libidines hominum; plures postremo mundus reos continet, scilicet universum hominum genus; iudicia denique non proconsulis, sed dei sustinet. Quo vos benedicti de carcere in custodiarium si forte translatos existimetis. Habet tenebras, sed lumen estis ipsi; habet vincula, sed vos soluti deo estis. Triste illic exspirat, sed vos odor estis suavitatis. Iudex exspectatur, sed vos estis de iudicibus ipsis iudicaturi. Contristetur illic, qui fructum seculi suspirat. Christianus etiam extra carcerem seculo renuntiavit, in carcere autem etiam carceri. Nihil interest, ubi sitis in seculo, qui extra seculum estis. Et si aliqua amisistis vitae gaudia, negotiatio est aliquid amittere, ut maiora lucreris. Nihil adhuc dico de praemio, ad quod deus

martyres invitat. Ipsam interim conversationem seculi et carceris comparemus, si non plus in carcere spiritus acquirit, quam caro amittit; imo et quae iusta sunt caro non amittit per curam ecclesiae et agapen fratrum, et insuper quae semper utilia fidei, spiritus adipiscitur. Non vides alienos deos, non imaginibus eorum incurris, non sollemnes nationum dies ipsa commixtione participas, non nidoribus spurcis verberaris, non clamoribus spectaculorum, atrocitate vel furore vel impudicitia celebrantium caederis, non in loca libidinum publicarum oculi tui impingunt: vacas a scandalis, a tentationibus, a recordationibus malis, iam et a persecutione. Hoc praestat carcer Christiano, quod eremus Prophetis. Ipse dominus in secessu frequentius agebat, ut liberius oraret, ut seculo cederet. Gloriam denique suam discipulis in solitudine demonstravit. Auferamus carceris nomen, secessum vocemus. Etsi corpus includitur, etsi caro detinetur, omnia spiritui patent. Vagare spiritu, spatiare spiritu, et non stadia opaca aut porticus longas proponens tibi, sed illam viam, quae ad deum ducit. Quotiens eam spiritu deambulaveris, totiens in carcere non eris. Nihil crus sentit in nervo, cum animus in coelo est. Totum hominem animus circumfert, et quo velit, transfert. Ubi autem erit cor tuum, illic erit et thesaurus tuus. Ibi ergo sit cor nostrum, ubi volumus habere thesaurum.

III. Sit nunc, benedicti, carcer etiam Christianis molestus? Vocati sumus ad militiam dei vivi iam tunc, cum in sacramenti verba respondimus. Nemo miles ad bellum cum deliciis venit, nec de cubiculo ad aciem procedit, sed de papilionibus expeditis et

substrictis, ubi omnis duritia et inbonitas et insuavitas constitit. Etiam in pace labore et incommodis bellum pati iam ediscunt: in armis deambulando, campum decurrendo, fossam moliendo, testudinem densando. Sudore omnia constant, ne corpora atque animi expavescant: de umbra ad solem, de sole ad coelum, de tunica ad loricam, de silentio ad clamorem, de quiete ad tumultum. Proinde vos, benedicti, quodcunque hoc durum est, ad exercitationem virtutum animi et corporis deputate. Bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo agonothetes deus vivus est, xystarches spiritus sanctus, corona aeternitatis, brabium angelicae substantiae, politia in coelis, gloria in secula seculorum. Itaque epistates vester Christus Iesus, qui vos spiritu unxit et ad hoc scamma produxit, voluit vos ante diem agonis ad duriorem tractationem a liberiore conditione seponere, ut vires corroborarentur in vobis. Nempe enim et athletae segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam, ut robori aedificando vacent; continentur a luxuria, a cibis laetioribus, a potu iucundiore; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur: quanto plus in exercitationibus laboraverint, tanto plus de victoria sperant. Et illi, inquit Apostolus, ut coronam corruptibilem consequantur: nos aeternam consecuturi. Carcerem nobis pro palaestra interpretemur, ut ad stadium tribunalis, bene exercitati incommodis omnibus producamur, quia virtus duritia exstruitur, mollitia vero destruitur.

IV. Scimus ex dominico praecepto, quod caro infirma sit, spiritus promptus. Non ergo nobis blandiamur, quia dominus consensit, carnem infirmam esse. Propterea enim praedixit spiritum promp-

tum, ut ostenderet, quid cui debeat esse subiectum, scilicet ut caro serviat spiritui, infirmior fortiori, ut ab eo etiam ipsa fortidudinem assumat. Colloquatur spiritus cum carne de communi salute, nec iam de incommodis carceris, sed de ipso agone et praelio cogitans. Timebit forsitan caro gladium gravem, et crucem excelsam, et rabiem bestiarum, et summam ignium poenam, et omne carnificis ingenium in tormentis. Sed spiritus contra ponat sibi et carni, acerba licet ista, a multis tamen aequo animo excepta, imo et ultro appetita, famae et gloriae caussa: nec a viris tantum, sed etiam a feminis, ut vos quoque benedictae sexui vestro respondeatis. Longum est, si enumerem singulos, qui se gladio confecerint animo suo ducti. De feminis ad manum est Lucretia, quae vim stupri passa cultrum sibi adegit in conspectu propinquorum, ut gloriam castitati suàe pareret. Mucius manum suam dexteram in ara cremavit, ut hoc factum eius fama haberet. Minus fecerunt philosophi: Heraclitus, qui se bubulo stercore oblitum exussit; item Empedocles, qui in ignes Aetnaei montis dissiluit; et Peregrinus, qui non olim se rogo immisit, cum feminae quoque contempserint ignes; Dido, ne post virum dilectissimum nubere cogeretur; item Asdrubralis uxor, quae iam ardente Carthagine, cum maritum suum supplicem Scipionis videret, cum filiis suis in incendium patriae devolavit. Regulus, dux Romanorum, captus a Carthaginiensibus, cum se unum pro multis captivis Carthaginiensibus compensari noluisset, maluit hostibus reddi et in arcae genus stipatus, undique extrinsecus clavis transfixus, tot cruces sensit. Bestias femina libens

appetiit, et utique aspides, serpentes tauro vel urso horridiores, quas Cleopatra immisit sibi, ne in manus inimici perveniret. Sed mortis metus non tantus est, quantus tormentorum. Itaque cessit carnifici meretrix Atheniensis, quae conscia coniurationis, cum propterea torqueretur a tyranno, et non prodidit coniuratos et novissime linguam suam commestam in faciem tyranni exspuit, ut nihil agere se scirent tormenta, etsi ultra perseverarent. Nam quod hodie apud Lacedaemonas sollemnitas maxima est, διαμαστίγωσις, id est, flagellatio, non latet. In quo sacro ante aram nobiles quique adolescentes flagellis affliguntur, astantibus parentibus et propinquis et uti perseverent adhortantibus. Ornamentum enim et gloria deputabitur maïore quidem titulo, si anima potius cesserit plagis, quam corpus. Igitur, si tantum terrenae gloriae licet de corporis et animi vigore, ut gladium, ignem, crucem, bestias, tormenta contemnant sub praemio laudis humanae, possum dicere: modicae sunt istae passiones ad consecutionem gloriae coelestis et divinae mercedis. Si tanti vitrum, quanti margaritum? Quis ergo non libentissime tantum pro vero habeat erogare, quantum alii pro falso?

V. Omitto nunc gloriae caussam. Eadem omnia saevitiae et cruciatus certamina iam apud homines affectatio quoque et morbus quidam animi conculcavit. Quot otiosos affectatio armorum ad gladium locat? Certe ad feras ipsas affectatione descendunt, et de morsibus et de cicatricibus formosiores sibi videntur. Iam et ad ignes quidam se auctoraverunt, ut certum spatium in tunica ardente conficerent. Alii inter venatorum taureas scapulis patientissimis inam-

bulaverunt. Haec, benedicti, non sine caussa dominus in seculum admisit; sed ad nos et nunc exhortandos et in illo die confundendos, si reformidaverimus pati pro veritate in salutem, quae alii affectaverunt pro vanitate in perditionem.

VI. Sed haec exempla constantiae omittamus de affectatione venientis. Convertamur ad ipsam conditionis humanae contemplationem, ut et illa nos instruant, si qua constanter adeunda sint, quae et invitis evenire consueverunt. Quotiens enim incendia vivos cremaverunt? quotiens ferae et in silvis suis et in mediis civitatibus elapsae caveis homines devoraverunt? quot a latronibus ferro, ab hostibus etiam cruce extincti sunt, torti prius, imo et omni contumelia expuncti? Nemo non etiam hominis caussa pati potest, quod in caussa dei pati dubitat. Ad hoc quidem vel praesentia nobis tempora documenta sint, quantae qualesque personae inopinatos natalibus et dignitatibus et corporibus et aetatibus suis exitus referunt, hominis caussa: aut ab ipso, si contra eum fecerint, aut ab adversariis eius, si pro eo steterint.

DE TESTIMONIO ANIMAE.

I. Magna curiositate et maiore longe memoria opus est ad studendum, si quis velit ex litteris receptissimis quibusque philosophorum vel poëtarum vel quorumlibet doctrinae ac sapientiae secularis magistrorum testimonia excerpere Christianae veritatis; ut aemuli persecutoresque eius de suo proprio instrumento et erroris in se et iniquitatis in nos rei revincantur. Nonnulli quidem, quibus de pristina litteratura et curiositatis labor et memoriae tenor perseveravit, ad eum modum opuscula penes nos condiderunt, commemorantes et contestificantes in singula rationem et originem et traditionem et sententiarum argumenta, per quae recognosci possit, nihil nos aut novum aut portentosum suscepisse, de quo non etiam communes et publicae litterae ad suffragium nobis patrocinentur, si quid aut erroris eiecimus aut aequitatis admisimus. Sed ne suis quidem magistris, alias probatissimis atque lectissimis, fidem inclinavit humana de incredulitate duritia, sicubi in argumenta Christianae defensionis impingunt: tunc vani poëtae, cum deos humanis passionibus et fabulis designant; tunc philosophi duri, cum veritatis fores pulsant. Hactenus sapiens et prudens habebitur, qui prope Christianum pronunciarit, cum, si quid prudentiae aut sapientiae affectaverit, seu ceremonias despuens seu seculum re-

vincens, pro Christiano denotetur. Iam igitur nihil nobis erit cum litteris et doctrina perversae felicitatis, cui in falso potius creditur, quam in vero. Viderint, si qui de unico et solo deo pronunciaverunt. Imo nihil omnino relatum sit, quod agnoscat Christianus, ne exprobrare possit. Nam et quod relatum est, neque omnes sciunt, neque qui sciunt, constare confidunt. Tanto abest, ut nostris litteris annuant homines, ad quas nemo venit nisi iam Christianus. Novum testimonium advoco, imo omni litteratura notius, omni doctrina agitatius, omni editione vulgatius, toto homine maius, id est totum quod est hominis. Consiste in medio, anima, seu divina et aeterna res es secundum plures philosophos, eo magis non mentieris; seu minime divina, quoniam quidem mortalis, ut Epicuro soli videtur, eo magis mentiri non debebis, seu de coelo exciperis, seu de terra conciperis, seu numeris, seu atomis concinnaris, seu cum corpore incipis, seu post corpus induceris, unde unde et quoquo modo hominem facis animal rationale, sensus et scientiae capacissimum. Sed non eam te advoco, quae scholis formata, bibliothecis exercitata, academiis et porticibus Atticis partam sapientiam ructas. Te simplicem et rudem et impolitam et idioticam compello, qualem habent qui te solam habent: illam ipsam de compito, de trivio, de textrino totam. Imperitia tua mihi opus est, quoniam aliquantulae peritiae tuae nemo credit. Ea expostulo, quae tecum in hominem infers, quae aut ex temetipsa aut ex quocunque auctore tuo sentire didicisti. Non es, quod sciam, Christiana; fieri enim, non nasci soles Christiana. Tamen nunc a te testimonium flagitant Christiani,

ab extranea adversus tuos, ut vel tibi erubescant, quod nos ob ea oderint et irrideant, quae te nunc consciam detineant.

II. Non placemus deum praedicantes hoc nomine unico unicum, a quo omnia et sub quo universa. Dic testimonium, si ita scis. Nam te quoque palam et tota libertate, qua non licet nobis, domi ac foris audimus ita pronunciare: Quod deus dederit, et Si deus voluerit. Ea voce et aliquem esse significas et omnem illi confiteris potestatem, ad cuius spectas voluntatem: simul et ceteros negas deos esse, dum suis vocabulis nuncupas, Saturnum, Iovem, Martem, Minervam. Nam solum deum confirmas, quem tantum deum nominas, ut etiam cum illos interdum deos appellas, de alieno et quasi pro mutuo usa videaris. De natura quoque dei, quem praedicamus, nec te latet: deus bonus [est], deus benefacit, tua vox est. Plane et adiicis: sed homo malus; scilicet contraria propositione oblique et figuraliter exprobrans, ideo malum hominem, quia a deo bono abscesserit. Etiam quod penes deum bonitatis et benignitatis omnis benedictio inter nos summum sit disciplinae et conversationis sacramentum: Benedicat te deus, tam facile pronuntias, quam Christiano necesse est. At cum in maledictum convertis benedictionem dei, perinde dicto omnem super nos potestatem eius consistere secundum nos confiteris. Sunt, qui etsi deum non negent, dispectorem plane et arbitrum et iudicem non putent (in quo utique nos maxime reiiciunt, qui ad istam disciplinam metu praedicati iudicii transvolamus) sic deum honorantes, dum curis observationis et molestiis animadversionis absolvunt, cui ne iram quidem ad-

scribunt. Nam si deus, inquiunt, irascitur, corruptibilis et passionalis est; porro quod patitur, quodque corrumpitur, etiam interitum potest capere, quem deus non capit. At iidem alibi animam divinam et a deo collatam confitentes, cadunt in testimonium ipsius animae retorquendum adversus opinionem superiorem. Si enim anima aut divina aut a deo data est, sine dubio datorem suum novit, et si novit, utique et timet, ut tantum postremo autorem. An non timet, quem magis propitium velit, quam iratum? Unde igitur naturalis timor animae in deum, si deus non novit irasci? Quomodo timetur, qui nescit offendi? Quid timetur, nisi ira? Unde ira, nisi ex animadversione? Unde animadversio, nisi de [dei] iudicio? Unde iudicium, nisi de potestate? Cuius potestas summa, nisi dei solius? Hinc ergo tibi anima de conscientia suppetit domi ac foris, nullo irridente vel prohibente praedicare: deus videt omnia, et: deo commendo, et: deus reddet, et: deus inter nos iudicabit. Unde hoc tibi non Christianae? Atque id plerumque et vitta Cereris redimita, et pallio Saturni coccinata et deae Isidis linteata? In ipsis denique templis deum iudicem imploras, sub Aesculapio stans, Iunonem in aëre exorans, Minervae calceans furvis galeam formis, et neminem de praesentibus diis contestaris; in tuo foro aliunde iudicem appellas, in tuis templis alium deum pateris. O testimonium veritatis, quae apud ipsa daemonia testem efficit Christianorum.

III. Enimvero cur daemonia affirmamus esse? sane quasi non et probemus, qui ea soli de corporibus eximus. Aliqui Chrysippi assentator illudit ea, at

esse et abominationem sustinere, exsecrationes tuae respondent. Daemonium vocas hominem aut immunditia aut malitia aut insolentia aut quacunque macula, quam nos daemoniis deputamus, [aut] ad necessitatem odii opportunum. Satanam denique in omni aversatione et aspernatione et detestatione pronuntias, quem nos dicimus malitiae angelum, totius erroris artificem, totius seculi interpolatorem, per quem homo a primordio circumventus, ut praeceptum dei excederet, et propterea in mortem datus, exinde totum genus de suo semine infectum suae etiam damnationis traducem fecit. Sentis igitur perditorem tuum. Et licet soli illum noverint Christiani, vel quaecunque apud dominum secta, et tu tamen eum nosti, dum odisti.

IV. Iam nunc quod ad necessariorem sententiam tuam spectet, in quantum et ad ipsum statum tuum tendit, affirmamus, te manere post vitae dispunctionem, et exspectare diem iudicii, proque meritis aut cruciatui destinari aut refrigerio, utroque sempiterno; quibus sustinendis necessario tibi substantiam pristinam eiusdemque hominis materiam, et memoriam reversuram, quod et nihil mali ac boni sentire possis sine carnis passionalis facultate, et nulla ratio sit iudicii sine ipsius exhibitione, qui meruit iudicii passionem. Ea opinio Christiana, esti honestior multo Pythagorica, quae te non in bestias transfert, etsi plenior Platonica, quae tibi etiam dotem corporis reddit, etsi Epicurea gratior, quae te ab interitu defendit: tamen propter solum nomen vanitati et stupori et, ut dicitur, praesumtioni deputatur. Sed non erubescimus, si tecum erit nostra praesumtio. Primo

enim, cum alicuius defuncti recordaris, misellum vocas eum: non utique, quod de bono vitae ereptum, sed ut poenae et iudicio iam adscriptum. Ceterum alias securos vocas defunctos. Profiteris et vitae incommodum et mortis beneficium. Vocas porro securos, si quando extra portam cum obsoniis et matteis tibi potius parentans ad busta recedis, aut a bustis dilutior redis. At ego sobriam tuam sententiam exigo: misellos vocas mortuos, cum de tuo loqueris, cum ab eis longe es. Nam in convivio eorum quasi praesentibus et conrecumbentibus sortem suam exprobrare non possis, debes adulari, propter quos lautius vivis. Misellum ergo vocas, qui nihil sentit? Quid, quod ut sentienti maledicis, cuius memoriam cum alicuius offensae morsu facis? Terram gravem imprecaris et cineri penes inferos tormentum. Aeque ex bona parte, cui gratiam debes, ossibus et cineribus eius refrigerium comprecaris, et ut bene requiescat apud inferos cupis. Si nihil passionis est tibi post mortem, si nulla sensus perseverantia, si denique nihil es ipsa, ubi corpus reliquisti: cur mentiris in te, quasi aliquid ultra pati possis? Imo cur in totum times mortem, si nihil est tibi timendum post mortem, qua nec experiundum post mortem? Nam etsi dicere potes, ideo mortem timeri, non ut aliquid minantem, sed ut commodum vitae amputantem: atquin cum et incommoda longe plura vitae pariter excedas, et lucratione gravioris partis metum diluis, nec iam timenda est amissio bonorum, quae altero bono, id est incommodorum pace, pensatur. Non est timendum, quod nos liberat ab omni timendo. Si times vita decedere, quia optimam nosti;

certe mortem timere non debes, quam malam nescis. At cum times, scis malam; non scires autem malam, quia nec timeres, si non scires aliquid esse post mortem, quod eam malam faciat, ut timeas. Omittamus nunc naturalem formam timendi mortem. Nemo timeat, quod evadere non potest. Ex altera parte congredior, laetioris spei post mortem. Nam omnibus fere ingenita est famae post mortem cupido. Longum est retexere Curtios et Regulos vel graecos viros, quorum innumera elogia sunt contemtae mortis propter postumam famam. Quis non hodie memoriae post mortem frequentandae ita studet, ut vel litteraturae operibus, vel simplici laude morum, vel ipsorum sepulchrorum ambitione, nomen suum servet? Unde anima hodie affectaret aliquid, quod velit post mortem, et tantopere praepararet, quo sit usura post obitum: si nihil de postero sciret? Sed forsitan de sensu post excessum tui certior es, quam de resurrectione quandoque, cuius nos praesumtores denotamur. Atquin hoc quoque ab anima praedicatur. Nam si de aliquo iam pridem defuncto tanquam de vivo quis requirat, prae manu occurrit dicere, "abiit:" iam et reverti debet.

V. Haec testimonia animae quanto vera, tanto simplicia, quanto simplicia, tanto vulgaria, quanto vulgaria, tanto communia, quanto communia, tanto naturalia, quanto naturalia, tanto divina. Non puto cuiquam frivolum et frigidum videri posse, si recogitet naturae maiestatem, ex qua censetur auctoritas animae. Quantum dederis magistrae, tantum adiudicabis discipulae. Magistra natura, anima discipula. Quicquid aut illa edocuit, aut ista perdidicit, a deo

traditum est, magistro scilicet ipsius magistrae. Quid anima possit de principali institutore praesumere, in te est aestimare de ea, quae in te est. Senti illam, quae ut sentias efficit; recogita in praesagiis vatem, in ominibus augurem, in eventibus prospicem. Mirum, si a deo data homini, novit divinare? Tam mirum, si eum, a quo data est, novit? Etiam circumventa ab adversario, meminit sui auctoris et bonitatis et decreti eius et exitus sui et adversarii ipsius. Sic mirum, si a deo data, eadem canit, quae deus suis dedit nosse? Sed qui eiusmodi eruptiones animae non putavit doctrinam esse naturae congenitae et ingenitae conscientiae tacita commissa: dicet potius, diventilatis in vulgus opinionibus, publicatarum litterarum usum, iam et quasi vitium corroboratum taliter sermocinandi. Certe prior anima, quam littera, et prior sermo, quam liber, et prior sensus, quam stilus, et prior homo ipse, quam philosophus et poëta. Numquid ergo credendum est, ante litteraturam et divulgationem eius mutos absque huiusmodi pronuntiationibus homines vixisse? Nemo deum et bonitatem eius, nemo mortem, nemo inferos loquebatur? Mendicabat sermo, opinor, imo nec ullus esse poterat, cessantibus etiam tunc, sine quibus hodie iam beatior et locupletior et prudentior esse non potest; si ea, quae tam facilia, tam assidua, tam proxima hodie sunt, in ipsis quodammodo labiis parta, retro non fuerunt, antequam litterae in seculo germinassent, antequam Mercurius, opinor, natus fuisset. Et unde ordo ipsis litteris contigit, nosse et in usum loquelae disseminare, quae nulla unquam mens conceperat aut lingua protulerat aut auris exceperat? At enim cum

divinae scripturae, quae penes nos vel Iudaeos sunt, in quorum oleastro insiti sumus, multo secularibus litteris, non modica tantum aetate aliqua, antecedant, ut loco suo edocuimus ad fidem earum demonstrandam; et si haec eloquia de litteris usurpavit anima; utique de nostris credendum erit, non de vestris; quia potiora sunt ad instruendam animam priora, quam postera, quae et ipsa a prioribus instrui sustinebant; cum etsi de vestris instructam concedamus, ad originem tamen principalem traditio pertineat, nostrumque omnino sit, quodcunque de nostris sumsisse et tradidisse contigit vobis. Quod cum ita sit, non multum refert, an a deo formata sit animae conscientia, an litteris dei. Quid igitur vis, homo, de humanis sententiis litterarum tuarum exisse haec in usus communis callositatem?

VI. Crede itaque tuis, et de commentariis nostris tanto magis crede divinis; sed de animae ipsius arbitrio perinde crede naturae. Elige, quam ex his fidelius sororem observes veritatis. Si de tuis litteris dubitas; neque deus, neque natura mentitur, ut et naturae et deo credas; crede animae, ita fiet, ut et tibi credas. Illa certe est, quam tanti facis, quantum illa te facit; cuius es totus, quae tibi omnia est; sine qua nec vivere potes nec mori; propter quam deum negligis. Cum enim times fieri Christianus, eam conveni: cur alium colens, deum nominat? cur, cum maledicendos spiritus denotat, daemonia pronuntiat? cur ad coelum contestatur, et ad terram detestatur? cur alibi servit, alibi vindicem convenit? cur de mortuis iudicat? cur verba habet Christianorum, quos nec auditos visosque vult? cur aut nobis dedit ea verba, aut

accepit a nobis? cur aut docuit, aut didicit? Suspectam habe convenientiam praedicationis in tanta disconvenientia conversationis. Vanus es, si huic linguae soli aut graecae, quae propinquae inter se habentur, reputabis eiusmodi, ut neges naturae universitatem. Non Latinis nec Argivis solis anima de coelo cadit. Omnium gentium unus homo, varium nomen est, una anima, varia vox, unus spiritus, varius sonus, propria cuique genti loquela, sed loquelae materia communis. Deus ubique, et bonitas Dei ubique; daemonium ubique, et maledictio daemonii ubique; iudicii divini invocatio ubique; mors ubique, et conscientia mortis ubique, et testimonium ubique. Omnis anima suo iure proclamat, quae nobis nec mutire conceditur. Merito igitur omnis anima rea et testis est; in tantum et rea erroris, in quantum et testis veritatis. Et stabit ante aulas dei die iudicii, nihil habens dicere.—Deum praedicabas, et non requirebas; daemonia abominabaris, et illa adorabas; iudicium dei appellabas, nec esse credebas; inferna supplicia praesumebas, et non praecavebas; Christianum nomen sapiebas, et Christianum persequebaris.

APOLOGETICUS

ADVERSUS GENTES PRO CHRISTIANIS.

I. Si non licet vobis, Romani imperii antistites, in aperto et edito ipso fere vertice civitatis praesidentibus ad iudicandum, palam dispicere et coram examinare, quid sit liquido in caussa Christianorum; si ad hanc solam speciem auctoritas vestra de iustitiae diligentia in publico aut timet aut erubescit inquirere: si denique, quod proxime accidit, domesticis iudiciis nimis operata sectae huius infestatio obstruit viam defensioni: liceat veritati vel occulta via tacitarum litterarum ad aures vestras pervenire. Nihil illa de caussa sua deprecatur, quia nec de conditione miratur. Scit se peregrinam in terris agere, inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire, ceterum genus, sedem, spem, gratiam, dignitatem in coelis habere. Unum gestit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur. Quid hinc deperit legibus in suo regno dominantibus, si audiatur? An hoc magis gloriabitur potestas earum, quod etiam auditam damnabunt veritatem? Ceterum inauditam si damnent, praeter invidiam iniquitatis etiam suspicionem merebuntur alicuius conscientiae, nolentes audire, quod auditum damnare non possint. Hanc itaque primam caussam apud vos collocamus iniquitatis odii erga nomen Christianorum. Quam iniquitatem idem titulus et onerat et revincit, qui videtur

excusare, ignorantia scilicet. Quid enim iniquius, quam ut oderint homines, quod ignorant, etiamsi res meretur odium? Tunc etenim meretur, cum cognoscitur, an mereatur. Vacante autem meriti notitia, unde odii iustitia defenditur quae non de eventu, sed de conscientia probanda est? Cum ergo propterea oderint homines, quia ignorant, quale sit quod oderunt, cur non liceat eiusmodi illud esse, quod non debeant odisse? Ita utrumque ex alterutro redarguimus, et ignorare illos, dum oderunt, et iniuste odisse, dum ignorant. Testimonium ignorantiae est, quae iniquitatem, dum excusat, condemnat; cum omnes, qui retro oderant, quia ignorabant, [quale esset quod oderant,] simul ut desinunt ignorare, cessent et odisse. Ex his fiunt Christiani, utique de comperto et incipiunt odisse quod fuerant, et profiteri quod oderant, et sunt tanti, quanti et denotamur. Obsessam vociferantur civitatem, in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos; omnem sexum, aetatem, conditionem, etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento moerent. Nec tamen hoc ipso modo ad aestimationem alicuius latentis boni promovent animos; non licet rectius suspicari, non libet propius experiri. Hic tantum humana curiositas torpescit, amant ignorare, cum alii gaudeant cognovisse. Quanto magis hos Anacharsis denotasset imprudentes de prudentibus iudicantes, quam immusicos de musicis! Malunt nescire, quia iam oderunt; adeo quod nesciunt, praeiudicant id esse, quod, si sciant, odisse non poterant; quando si nullum odii debitum deprehendatur, optimum utique sit desinere iniuste odisse; si vero de merito constet, non modo nihil odii detraha-

tur, sed amplius acquiratur ad perseverantiam, etiam iustitiae ipsius auctoritate. Sed non ideo, inquit, bonum, quia multos convertit. Quanti enim ad malum praeformantur, quanti transfugae in perversum? Quis negat? tamen quod vere malum est, ne ipsi quidem, quos rapit, defendere pro bono audent. Omne malum aut timore aut pudore natura perfudit. Denique malefici gestiunt latere, devitant apparere, trepidant deprehensi, negant accusati, ne torti quidem facile aut semper confitentur; certe condemnati moerent; dinumerant in semetipsos, mentis malae impetus vel fato vel astris imputant; nolunt enim suum esse, quod malum agnoscunt. Christianos vero, nihil simile; neminem pudet, neminem poenitet, nisi plane retro non fuisse. Si denotatur, gloriatur; si accusatur, non defendit; interrogatus vel ultro confitetur; damnatus gratias agit. Quid hoc mali est, quod naturam mali non habet, timorem, pudorem, tergiversationem, poenitentiam, deplorationem? Quid hoc mali est, cuius reus gaudet? cuius accusatio votum est, et poena felicitas? Non potes dementiam dicere, qui revinceris ignorare.

II. Si certum est denique nos nocentissimos esse, cur a vobis ipsis aliter tractamur, quam pares nostri, id est ceteri nocentes? cum eiusdem noxae eadem tractatio deberet intervenire. Quodcunque dicimur, cum alii dicuntur, et proprio ore et mercenaria advocatione utuntur ad innocentiae suae commendationem. Respondendi, altercandi facultas patet, quando nec liceat indefensos et inauditos omnino damnari. Sed Christianis solis nihil permittitur loqui, quod caussam purget, quod veritatem defendat, quod iudicem

non faciat iniustum. Sed illud solum exspectatur, quod odio publico necessarium est, confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis: quando si de aliquo nocente cognoscitis, non statim confesso eo nomen homicidae, vel sacrilegi, vel incesti, vel publici hostis (ut de nostris elogiis loquar) contenti sitis ad pronuntiandum, nisi et consequentia exigatis, qualitatem facti, numerum, locum, modum, tempus, conscios, socios. De nobis nihil tale, cum aeque extorqueri oporteret, quodcunque falso iactatur, quot quisque iam infanticidia degustasset, quot incesta contenebrasset, qui coci, qui canes affuissent. O quanta illius praesidis gloria, si eruisset aliquem, qui centum iam infantes comedisset! Atquin invenimus inquisitionem quoque in nos prohibitam. Plinius enim Secundus cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam Christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsis, ipsa tamen multitudine perturbatus, quid de cetero ageret, consuluit [tunc] Traianum imperatorem, allegans praeter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ut deo et ad confoederandam disciplinam, homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, et cetera scelera prohibentes. Tunc Traianus rescripsit, hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos ut innocentes, et mandat puniendos ut nocentes. Parcit et saevit, dissimulat et animadvertit. Quid temetipsum censura circumvenis? si damnas, cur non et inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur; in reos maie-

statis et publicos hostes omnis homo miles est, ad socios, ad conscios usque inquisitio extenditur. Solum Christianum inquiri non licet, offerri licet, quasi aliud esset actura inquisitio, quam oblationem. Damnatis ergo oblatum, quem nemo voluit requisitum, qui, puto, iam non ideo meruit poenam, quia nocens est, sed quia, non requirendus, inventus est. Itaque nec in illo ex forma malorum iudicandorum agitis erga nos, quod ceteris negantibus adhibetis tormenta ad confitendum, solis Christianis ad negandum; cum, si malum esset, nos quidem negaremus, vos vero confiteri tormentis compelleretis. Neque enim ideo putaretis non requirenda quaestionibus scelera, quia certi essetis admitti ea ex nominis confessione, qui hodie de confesso homicida, scientes homicidium quid sit, nihilominus ordinem extorquetis admissi; quo perversius, cum praesumatis de sceleribus nostris ex nominis confessione, cogitis tormentis de confessione decedere, ut negantes nomen pariter utique negemus et scelera, de quibus ex confessione nominis praesumpseratis. Sed, opinor, non vultis nos perire, quos pessimos creditis. Sic enim soletis dicere homicidae: nega; laniari iubere sacrilegum, si confiteri perseveraverit. Si non ita agitis circa nos nocentes, ergo nos innocentissimos iudicatis, cum quasi innocentissimos non vultis in ea confessione perseverare, quam necessitate, non iustitia damnandam a vobis sciatis. Vociferatur homo: Christianus sum. Quod est dicit; tu vis audire, quod non est. Veritatis extorquendae praesides, de nobis solis mendacium elaboratis audire. Hoc sum, inquit, quod quaeris, an sim; quid me torques in perversum? confiteor, et torques;

quid faceres, si negarem? Plane aliis negantibus non facile fidem accommodatis; nobis, si negaverimus, statim creditis. Suspecta sit vobis ista perversitas, ne qua vis lateat in occulto, quae vos adversus formam, adversus naturam iudicandi, contra ipsas quoque leges ministret. Nisi enim fallor, leges malos erui iubent, non abscondi; confessos damnari praescribunt, non absolvi. Hoc senatusconsulta, hoc principum mandata definiunt, hoc imperium, cuius ministri estis. Civilis, non tyrannica dominatio [vestra] est. Apud tyrannos enim tormenta etiam pro poena adhibentur; apud vos soli questioni temperantur. Vestram illis servate legem usque ad confessionem; et si confessione praeveniantur, vacabunt. Sententia opus est; debito poenae nocens expungendus est, non eximendus. Denique illum nemo gestit absolvere; non licet hoc velle; ideo nec cogitur quisquam negare. Christianum hominem omnium scelerum reum, deorum, imperatorum, legum, morum, naturae totius inimicum existimas, et cogis negare, ut absolvas, quem non poteris absolvere, nisi negaverit. Praevaricaris in leges. Vis ergo neget se nocentem, ut eum facias innocentem, et quidem invitum iam, nec de praeterito reum. Unde ista perversitas? ut etiam illud non recogitetis, sponte confesso magis credendum esse, quam per vim neganti; vel ne compulsus negare, non ex fide negarit; et absolutus ibidem post tribunal de vestra rideat aemulatione, iterum Christianus. Cum igitur in omnibus nos aliter disponatis, quam ceteros nocentes, id unum contendendo, ut de eo nomine excludamur (excludimur enim, si facimus, quae faciunt non Christiani), intelligere

potestis non scelus aliquod in caussa esse, sed nomen, quod quaedam ratio aemulae operationis insequitur, hoc primum agens, ut homines nolint scire pro certo, quod se nescire pro certo sciunt. Ideo et credunt de nobis quae non probantur, et nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non esse, quae malunt credi esse, ut nomen illius aemulae rationis inimicum, praesumptis, non probatis criminibus, de sua sola confessione damnetur. Ideo torquemur confitentes, et punimur perseverantes, et absolvimur negantes, quia nominis proelium est. Denique quid de tabella recitatis illum Christianum, cur non et homicidam? Si homicida Christianus, cur non et incestus? vel quodcunque aliud nos esse creditis? In nobis solis pudet aut piget ipsis nominibus scelerum pronuntiare? Christianus si nullius criminis reus est, nomen valde infestum, si solius nominis crimen est.

III. Quid? quod ita plerique clausis oculis in odium eius impingunt, ut bonum alicui testimonium ferentes admisceant nominis exprobrationem: Bonus vir Caius Seius, tantum quod Christianus. Item alius: Ego miror Lucium sapientem virum repente factum Christianum. Nemo retractat: Nonne ideo bonus Caius, et prudens Lucius, quia Christianus? aut ideo Christianus, quia prudens et bonus? Laudant quae sciunt, vituperant quae ignorant, et id quod sciunt, eo quod ignorant, corrumpunt; cum sit iustius occulta de manifestis praeiudicare, quam manifesta de occultis praedamnare. Alii, quos retro ante hoc nomen vagos, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant, quo laudant; caecitate odii in suffragium impingunt. Quae mulier! quam lasciva, quam festiva!

Qui iuvenis! quam lascivus, quam amasius! Facti sunt Christiani. Ita nomen emendationi imputatur. Nonnulli etiam de utilitatibus suis cum odio isto paciscuntur, contenti iniuria, dum ne domi habeant, quod oderunt. Uxorem iam pudicam maritus iam non zelotypus eiecit, filium iam subiectum pater retro patiens abdicavit, servum iam fidelem dominus olim mitis ab oculis relegavit: ut quisque hoc nomine emendatur, offendit. Tanti non est bonum, quanti est odium Christianorum. Nunc igitur, si nominis odium est, quis nominum reatus? Quae accusatio vocabulorum, nisi si aut barbarum sonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infaustum, aut maledicum, aut impudicum? Christianus vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos), de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. Oditur ergo in hominibus innocuis etiam nomen innocuum. At enim secta oditur in nomine utique sui auctoris. Quid novi, si aliqua disciplina de magistro cognomentum sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne philosophi de auctoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epicurei, Pythagorici? etiam a locis conventiculorum et stationum suarum Stoici, Academici? atque medici ab Erasistrato, et grammatici ab Aristarcho, coci etiam ab Apicio? Nec tamen quemquam offendit professio nominis, cum institutione transmissa ab institutore. Plane si qui probet malam sectam et ita malum auctorem, is probabit et nomen malum dignum odio de reatu sectae et auctoris. Ideoque ante odium nominis competebat prius de auctore sectam recognoscere, vel aucto-

rem de secta. At nunc utriusque inquisitione et agnitione neglecta nomen detinetur, nomen expugnatur, et ignotam sectam, ignotum et auctorem vox sola praedamnat, quia nominantur, non quia revincuntur.

IV. Atque adeo quasi praefatus haec ad suggillandam odii erga nos publici iniquitatem, iam de caussa innocentiae consistam, nec tantum refutabo, quae nobis obiiciuntur, sed etiam in ipsos retorquebo, qui obiiciunt; ut ex hoc quoque sciant omnes in Christianis non esse quae in se non nesciunt esse, simul uti erubescant accusantes, non dico pessimi optimos, sed iam, ut volunt, compares suos. Respondebimus ad singula, quae in occulto admittere dicimur, quae illos palam admittentes invenimus, in quibus scelesti, in quibus vani, in quibus damnandi, in quibus irridendi deputamur. Sed quoniam, cum ad omnia occurrit veritas nostra, postremo legum obstruitur auctoritas adversus eam, ut aut nihil dicatur retractandum esse post leges, aut ingratis necessitas obsequii praeferatur veritati: de legibus prius concurram vobiscum ut cum tutoribus legum. Iam primum quam dure definitis dicendo: Non licet esse vos! Et hoc sine ullo retractatu humaniore praescribitis; vim profitemini et iniquam ex arce dominationem, si ideo negatis licere, quia vultis, non quia debuit, non licere. Quodsi quia non debet, ideo non vultis licere, sine dubio id non debet licere, quod male fit, et utique hoc ipso praeiudicatur licere, quod bene fit. Si bonum invenero esse, quod lex tua prohibuit, nonne ex illo praeiudicio prohibere me non potest, quod si malum esset, iure prohiberet? Si lex tua erravit, puto, ab homine concepta est; neque enim de coelo

ruit. Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda, aut resipuisse in reprobanda? Nonne et ipsius Lycurgi leges a Lacedaemoniis amendatae, tantum auctori suo doloris incusserunt, ut in secessu inedia de semetipso iudicarit? Nonne et vos quotidie experimentis illuminantibus tenebras antiquitatis totam illam veterem et squalentem silvam legum novis principalium rescriptorum et edictorum securibus truncatis et caeditis? Nonne vanissimas Papias leges, quae ante liberos suscipi cogunt, quam Iuliae matrimonium contrahi, post tantae auctoritatis senectutem heri Severus constantissimus principum exclusit? Sed et iudicatos retro in partes secari a creditoribus leges erant; consensu tamen publico crudelitas postea erasa est et in pudoris notam capitis poena conversa; bonorum adhibita proscriptio suffundere maluit hominis sanguinem, quam effundere. Quot adhuc vobis repurgandae leges latent, quas neque annorum numerus, neque conditorum dignitas commendat, sed aequitas sola? et ideo cum iniquae recognoscuntur, merito damnantur, licet damnent. Quomodo iniquas dicimus? imo, si nomen puniunt, etiam stultas. Si vero facta, cur in nobis de solo nomine puniunt facta, quae in aliis de admisso, non de nomine probata defendunt? Incestus sum, cur non requirunt? infanticida, cur non extorquent? in deos, in caesares aliquid committo, cur non audior, qui habeo, quo purger? Nulla lex vetat discuti, quod prohibet admitti; quia neque iudex iuste ulciscitur, nisi cognoscat admissum esse quod non licet; neque civis fideliter legi obsequitur, ignorans, quale sit, quod ulciscitur. Nulla lex sibi soli conscientiam

iustitiae suae debet, sed eis, a quibus obsequium exspectat. Ceterum suspecta lex est, quae probari se non vult, improba autem, si non probata dominetur.

V. Ut de origine aliquid retractemus eiusmodi legum, vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus. Scit M. Aemilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad caussam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit; homo iam deo propitius esse debebit. Tiberius ergo, cuius tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit, annuntiatum sibi ex Syria Palaestina, quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit; Caesar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum. Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate; sed qua et homo, facile coeptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Tales semper nobis insecutores, iniusti, impii, turpes, quos et ipsi damnare consuestis, et a quibus damnatos restituere soliti estis. Ceterum de tot exinde principibus [usque] ad hodiernum divinum humanumque sapientibus, edite aliquem debellatorem Christianorum. At nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam

Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Qui sicut non palam ab eiusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adiecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Quales ergo leges istae, quas adversus nos soli exsequuntur impii, iniusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianos; quas nullus Hadrianus, quamquam curiositatum omnium explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quamquam Iudaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit. Facilius utique pessimi ab optimis quibusque, ut ab aemulis, quam a suis sociis eradicandi iudicarentur.

VI. Nunc religiosissimi legum et paternorum institutorum protectores et ultores respondeant velim de sua fide et honore et obsequio erga maiorum consulta, si a nullo desciverunt, si in nullo exorbitaverunt, si non necessaria et aptissima quaeque disciplinae oblitteraverunt. Quonam illae leges abierunt sumptum et ambitionem comprimentes? quae centum aera non amplius in coenam subscribi iubebant, nec amplius quam unam inferri gallinam, et eam non saginatam; quae patricium, quod decem pondo argenti habuisset, pro magno titulo ambitionis senatu summovebant; quae theatra stuprandis moribus orientia statim destruebant; quae dignitatum et honestorum natalium insignia non temere nec impune usurpari sinebant? Video enim et centenarias coenas, a centenis iam sestertiis dicendas, et in lances (parum est [enim] si senatorum et non libertinorum vel adhuc flagra rumpentium) argentaria metalla producta. Video et theatra

nec singula satis esse, nec nuda. Nam ne vel hieme voluptas impudica frigeret, primi Lacedaemonii odium penulae ludis excogitaverunt. Video et inter matronas atque prostibulas nullum de habitu discrimen relictum. Circa feminas quidem etiam illa maiorum instituta ceciderunt, quae modestiae, quae sobrietati patrocinabantur, cum aurum nulla norat, praeter unico digito, quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo annulo; cum mulieres usque adeo a vino abstinerent, ut matronam ob resignatos cellae vinariae loculos sui inedia necarint. Sub Romulo vero quae vinum attigerat, impune a Mecenio marito trucidata est. Iccirco et oscula propinquis offerre necessitas erat, ut spiritu iudicarentur. Ubi est illa felicitas matrimoniorum de moribus utique prosperata, qua per annos ferme sexcentos ab urbe condita nulla repudium domus scripsit? At nunc in feminis prae auro nullum leve est membrum; prae vino nullum liberum est osculum; repudium vero iam et votum est, quasi matrimonii fructus. Etiam circa ipsos deos vestros quae perspecte decreverant patres vestri, iidem vos obsequentissimi rescidistis. Liberum patrem cum mysteriis suis consules senatus auctoritate non modo urbe, sed universa Italia eliminaverunt. Serapidem et Isidem et Harpocratem cum suo cynocephalo, Capitolio prohibitos [inferri], id est curia deorum pulsos, Piso et Gabinius consules, non utique Christiani, eversis etiam aris eorum abdicaverunt, turpium et otiosarum superstitionum vitia cohibentes. His vos restitutis summam maiestatem contulistis. Ubi religio, ubi veneratio maioribus debita a vobis? Habitu, victu, instructu, sensu, ipso denique sermone proavis renuntia-

stis. Laudatis semper antiquitatem, et nove de die vivitis. Per quod ostenditur, dum a bonis maiorum institutis deceditis, ea vos retinere et custodire, quae non debuistis, cum quae debuistis non custodistis. Ipsum adhuc quod videmini fidelissime tueri a patribus traditum, in quo principaliter reos transgressionis Christianos destinatis, studium dico deorum colendorum, de quo maxime erravit antiquitas, licet Serapidi iam Romano aras restruxeritis, licet Baccho iam Italico furias vestras immolaveritis, suo loco ostendam proinde despici et negligi et destrui a vobis adversus maiorum auctoritatem. Nunc enim ad illam occultorum facinorum infamiam respondebo, ut viam mihi ad manifestiora purgem.

VII. Dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto, quod eversores luminum canes, lenones scilicet, tenebrarum et libidinum impiarum inverecundia procurent. Dicimur tamen semper, nec vos quod tam diu dicimur eruere curatis. Ergo aut eruite, si creditis, aut nolite credere, qui non eruistis. De vestra vobis dissimulatione praescribitur, non esse, quod nec ipsi audetis eruere. Longe aliud munus carnifici in Christianos imperatis, non ut dicant quae faciunt, sed ut negent quod sunt. Census istius disciplinae, ut iam edidimus, a Tiberio est. Cum odio sui coepit veritas, simul atque apparuit, inimica esse. Tot hostes eius quot extranei, et quidem proprii ex aemulatione Iudaei, ex concussione milites, ex natura ipsi etiam domestici nostri. Quotidie obsidemur, quotidie prodimur, in ipsis plurimum coetibus et congregationibus nostris opprimimur. Quis unquam taliter vagienti in-

fanti supervenit? quis cruenta, ut invenerat, Cyclopum et Sirenum ora iudici reseravit? Quis vel in uxoribus aliqua immunda vestigia deprehendit? quis talia facinora, cum invenisset, celavit, aut vendidit ipsos trahens homines? Si semper latemus, quando proditum est, quod admittimus? imo a quibus prodi potuit? Ab ipsis enim reis non utique, cum vel ex forma omnibus mysteriis silentii fides debeatur. Samothracia et Eleusinia reticentur: quanto magis talia, quae prodita interim etiam humanam animadversionem provocabunt, dum divina servatur? Si ergo non ipsi proditores sui, sequitur ut extranei. Et unde extraneis notitia? cum semper etiam piae initiationes arceant profanos et ab arbitris caveant, nisi si impii minus metuunt? Natura famae omnibus nota est. Vestrum est: Fama malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum. Cur malum fama? quia velox? quia index? an quia plurimum mendax? quae ne tunc quidem, quum aliquid veri affert, sine mendacii vitio est, detrahens, adiiciens, demutans de veritate. Quid? quod ea illi conditio est, ut non nisi quum mentitur perseveret, et tamdiu vivit, quamdiu non probat. Siquidem ubi probavit, cessat esse, et quasi officio nuntiandi functa, rem tradit, et exinde res tenetur, res nominatur. Nec quisquam dicit verbi gratia: Hoc Romae aiunt factum; aut: Fama est, illum provinciam sortitum; sed: Sortitus est ille provinciam, et: Hoc factum est Romae. Fama, nomen incerti, locum non habet, ubi certum est. An vero famae credat, nisi inconsideratus? Qui est sapiens, non credit incerto. Omnium est aestimare, quantacunque illa ambitione diffusa sit, quantacunque asseveratione con-

structa, quod ab uno aliquando principe exorta sit; necesse est exinde in traduces linguarum et aurium serpat. Et ita modici seminis vitium cetera rumoris obscurat, ut nemo recogitet, ne primum illud os mendacium seminaverit, quod saepe fit aut ingenio aemulationis, aut arbitrio suspicionis, aut non nova, sed ingenita quibusdam mentiendi voluptate. Bene autem, quod omnia tempus revelat, testibus etiam vestris proverbiis atque sententiis, ex dispositione naturae, quae ita ordinavit, ut nihil diu lateat, etiam quod fama non distulit. Merito igitur fama tamdiu conscia sola est scelerum Christianorum. Hanc indicem adversus nos profertis, quae, quod aliquando iactavit tantoque temporis spatio in opinionem corroboravit, usque adhuc probare non valuit.

VIII. Ut fidem naturae ipsius appellem adversus eos, qui talia credenda esse praesumunt, ecce proponimus horum facinorum mercedem; vitam aeternam repromittunt. Credite interim. De hoc enim quaero, an et qui credideris, tanti habeas ad eam tali conscientia pervenire. Veni, demerge ferrum in infantem nullius inimicum, nullius reum, omnium filium; vel si alterius officium est, tu modo assiste morienti homini antequam vixit; fugientem animam novam exspecta; excipe rudem sanguinem, eo panem tuum satia, vescere libenter. Interea discumbens dinumera loca, ubi mater, ubi soror; nota diligenter, ut, quum tenebrae ceciderint caninae, non erres. Piaculum enim admiseris, nisi incestum feceris. Talia initiatus et consignatus vivis in aevum. Cupio respondeas, si tanti aeternitas, aut si non, ideo nec credenda. Etiamsi credideris, nego te velle, etiamsi volueris,

nego te posse. Cur ergo alii possint, si vos non potestis? cur non possitis, si alii possunt? Alia nos, opinor, natura; cynopaene aut sciapodes? alii ordines dentium, alii ad incestam libidinem nervi? Qui ista credis de homine, potes et facere. Homo es et ipse, quod et Christianus. Qui non potes facere, non debes credere. Homo est enim et Christianus, et quod et tu. Sed ignorantibus subiicitur et imponitur. Nihil enim tale de Christianis asseverari sciebant; observandum utique sibi et omni vigilantia investigandum. Atquin volentibus initiari moris est, opinor, prius patrem illum sacrorum adire, quae praeparanda sint describere. Tum ille: infans tibi necessarius, adhuc tener, qui nesciat mortem, qui sub cultro tuo rideat; item panis, quo sanguinis iurulentiam colligas; praeterea candelabra et lucernae, et canes aliqui et offulae, quae illos ad eversionem luminum extendant; ante omnia cum matre et sorore tua venire debebis. Quid, si noluerint, vel nullae fuerint? quid denique singulares Christiani? Non erit, opinor, legitimus Christianus, nisi frater aut filius. Quid nunc, etsi ista omnia ignaris praeparantur? Certe postea cognoscunt et sustinent et ignoscunt. Timent plecti, qui si proclament, defendi merebuntur, qui etiam ultro perire malint, quam sub tali conscientia vivere. Age nunc timeant, cur etiam perseverant? Sequitur enim, ne ultra velis id te esse, quod si prius scisses, non fuisses.

IX. Haec quo magis refutaverim, a vobis fieri ostendam partim in aperto, partim in occulto, per quod forsitan et de nobis credidistis. Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur, palam usque ad pro-

consulatum Tiberii, qui ipsos sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbratricibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriae nostrae, quae id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est. Sed et nunc in occulto perseverat hoc sacrum facinus. Non soli vos contemnunt Christiani, nec ullum scelus in perpetuum eradicatur, aut mores suos aliqui deus mutat. Cum propriis filiis Saturnus non pepercit, extraneis utique non parcendo perseverabat, quos quidem ipsi parentes sui offerebant, et libentes respondebant, et infantibus blandiebantur, ne lacrimantes immolarentur. Et tamen multum homicidio parricidium differt. Maior aetas apud Gallos Mercurio prosecabatur. Remitto Tauricas fabulas theatris suis. Ecce in illa religiosissima urbe Aeneadarum piorum est Iupiter quidam, quem ludis suis humano proluunt sanguine. Sed bestiarii, inquitis. Hoc, opinor, minus quam hominis. An hoc turpius, quod mali hominis? Certe tamen de homicidio funditur. O Iovem Christianum et solum patris filium de crudelitate! Sed quoniam de infanticidio nihil interest, sacro an arbitrio perpetretur (licet parricidium homicidio intersit) convertar ad populum. Quot vultis ex his circumstantibus et in Christianorum sanguinem hiantibus, ex ipsis etiam vobis iustissimis et severissimis in nos praesidibus apud conscientias pulsem, qui natos sibi liberos enecent? Siquidem et de genere necis differt, utique crudelius in aqua spiritum extorquetis, aut frigori et fami et canibus exponitis; ferro enim mori aetas quoque maior optaverit. Nobis vero, homicidio semel interdicto, etiam conceptum utero, dum adhuc sanguis in hominem delibatur, dissolvere non

licet. Homicidii festinatio est prohibere nasci; nec refert natam quis eripiat animam, an nascentem disturbet: homo est, et qui est futurus; etiam fructus omnis iam in semine est. De sanguinis pabulo et eiusmodi tragicis ferculis legite, nuncubi relatum sit, [est apud Herodotum, opinor] defusum brachiis sanguinem ex alterutro degustatum nationes quasdam foederi comparasse. Nescio quid et sub Catilina tale degustatum est. Aiunt et apud quosdam gentiles Scytharum defunctum quemque a suis comedi. Longe excurro. Hodie istic Bellonae sacratos sanguis de femore proscisso parmula exceptus et suis datus signat. Item illi, qui munere in arena noxiorum iugulatorum sanguinem recentem [de iugulo decurrentem exceptum] avida siti comitiali morbo medentes hauserunt, ubi sunt? item illi, qui de arena ferinis obsoniis coenant, qui de apro, qui de cervo petunt? Aper ille, quem cruentavit, colluctando detersit; cervus ille in gladiatoris sanguine se iactavit. Ipsorum ursorum alvei appetuntur cruditantes adhuc de visceribus humanis. || Ructatur proinde ab homine caro pasta de homine. Haec qui editis, quantum abestis a conviviis Christianorum? Minus autem et illi faciunt, qui libidine fera humanis membris inhiant, quia vivos vorant? minus humano sanguine ad spurcitiam consecrantur, quia futurum sanguinem lambunt? non edunt infantes plane, sed magis puberes. Erubescat error vester Christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus, qui propterea suffocatis quoque et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo sanguine contaminemur vel intra viscera sepulto. Denique inter tenta-

menta Christianorum botulos etiam cruore distentos admovetis, certissimi scilicet, illicitum esse penes illos, per quod exorbitare eos vultis. Porro quale est, ut quos sanguinem pecoris horrere confiditis, humano inhiare credatis, nisi forte suaviorem eum experti? Quem quidem et ipsum proinde examinatorem Christianorum adhiberi ut foculum, ut acerram oportebat. Proinde enim probarentur sanguinem humanum appetendo, quemadmodum sacrificium respuendo; alioquin necandi si gustassent, quemadmodum si non immolassent. Et utique non deesset vobis in auditione custodiarum et damnatione sanguis humanus. Proinde incesti qui magis, quam quos ipse Iupiter docuit? Persas cum suis matribus misceri Ctesias refert. Sed et Macedones suspecti, quia quum primum Oedipum tragoediam audissent, ridentes incesti dolorem, *ἤλαυνε*, dicebant, *εἰς τὴν μητέρα*. Iam nunc recogitate, quantum liceat erroribus ad incesta miscenda, suppeditante materias passivitate luxuriae. Inprimis filios exponitis suscipiendos ab aliqua praetereunte misericordia extranea, vel adoptandos melioribus parentibus emancipatis. Alienati generis necesse est quandoque memoriam dissipari; et semel error impegerit, exinde iam tradux proficiet incesti, serpente genere cum scelere. Tunc deinde quocunque in loco, domi, peregre, trans freta, comes est libido, cuius ubique saltus facile possunt alicubi ignaris filios pangere vel ex aliqua seminis portione; ut ita sparsum genus per commercia humana concurrat in in memorias suas, neque eas coetus incesti sanguinis agnoscat. Nos ab isto eventu diligentissima et fidelissima castitas sepsit, quantumque ab stupris et ab

omni post matrimonium excessu, tantum et ab incesti casu tuti sumus. Quidam multo securiores totam vim huius erroris virgine continentia depellunt, senes pueri. Haec in vobis esse si consideraretis, proinde in Christianis non esse perspiceretis. Iidem oculi renuntiassent utrumque. Sed caecitatis duae species facile concurrunt, ut qui non vident quae sunt, videre videantur quae non sunt. Sic per omnia ostendam. Nunc de manifestioribus dicam.

X. Deos, inquitis, non colitis, et pro imperatoribus sacrificia non impenditis. Sequitur ut eadem ratione pro aliis non sacrificemus, quia nec pro nobis ipsis, semel deos non colendo. Itaque sacrilegii et maiestatis rei convenimur. Summa haec caussa, imo tota est, et utique digna cognosci, si non praesumptio aut iniquitas iudicet, altera quae desperat; altera quae recusat veritatem. Deos vestros colere desinimus, ex quo illos non esse cognoscimus. Hoc igitur exigere debetis, uti probemus non esse illos deos, et iccirco non colendos, quia tunc demum coli debuissent, si dii fuissent. Tunc et Christiani puniendi, si quos non colerent, quia putarent non esse, constaret illos deos esse. Sed nobis inquitis, dii sunt. Appellamus et provocamus a vobis ipsis ad conscientiam vestram, illa nos iudicet, illa nos condemnet, si poterit negare omnes istos deos vestros homines fuisse. Sed et ipsa inficias si ierit, de suis antiquitatum instrumentis revincetur, de quibus eos didicit, testimonium perhibentibus ad hodiernum et civitatibus, in quibus nati sunt, et regionibus, in quibus aliquid operati vestigia reliquerunt, in quibus etiam sepulti demonstrantur. Nec ego per singulos decurram, tot ac tan-

tos, novos, veteres, barbaros, Graecos, Romanos, peregrinos, captivos, adoptivos, proprios, communes, masculos, feminas, rusticos, urbanos, nauticos, militares; otiosum est etiam titulos persequi, ut colligam in compendium, et hoc non quo cognoscatis, sed recognoscatis; certe enim oblitos agitis. Ante Saturnum deus penes vos nemo est, ab illo census totius vel potioris vel notioris divinitatis. Itaque quod de origine constiterit, id de posteritate conveniet. Saturnum itaque, si quantum litterae docent, neque Diodorus Graecus, aut Thallus, neque Cassius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator eiuscemodi antiquitatum aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt; si quantum rerum argumenta, nusquam invenio fideliora, quam apud ipsam Italiam, in qua Saturnus post multas expeditiones postque Attica hospitia consedit, exceptus a Iano, vel Iane, ut Salii volunt. Mons, quem incoluerat, Saturnius dictus; civitas, quam depalaverat, Saturnia usque nunc est; tota denique Italia, post Oenotriam, Saturnia cognominabatur. Ab ipso primum tabulae et imagine signatus numus, et inde aerario praesidet. Tamen si homo Saturnus, utique ex homine, et quia ab homine, non utique de coelo et terra. Sed cuius parentes ignoti erant, facile fuit eorum filium dici, quorum et omnes possumus videri. Quis enim non coelum et terram matrem et patrem venerationis et honoris gratia appellet, vel ex consuetudine humana, qua ignoti vel ex inopinato apparentes de coelo supervenisse dicuntur? Proinde Saturno repentino ubique coelitem contigit dici. Nam et terrae filios vulgus vocat, quorum genus incertum est. Taceo

quod ita rudes tunc homines agebant, ut cuiuslibet novi viri adspectu quasi divino commoverentur, quum hodie iam politi, quos ante paucos dies luctu publico mortuos sint confessi, in deos consecrent. Satis iam de Saturno, licet paucis. Etiam Iovem ostendemus tam hominem quam ex homine, et deinceps totum generis examen tam mortale quam seminis sui par.

XI. Et quoniam, sicut illos homines fuisse non audetis negare, ita post mortem deos factos instituistis asseverare, caussas quae hoc exegerint retractemus. Inprimis quidem necesse est concedatis esse aliquem sublimiorem deum et mancipem quendam divinitatis, qui ex hominibus deos fecerit. Nam neque sibi illi potuissent sumere divinitatem, quam non habebant, nec alius praestare eam non habentibus, nisi qui proprie possidebat. Ceterum si nemo esset, qui deos faceret, frustra praesumitis deos factos auferendo factorem. Certe quidem si ipsi se facere potuissent, nunquam homines fuissent, possidentes apud se scilicet melioris conditionis potestatem. Igitur si est qui faciat deos, revertor ad caussas examinandas faciendorum ex hominibus deorum, nec ullas invenio, nisi si ministeria et auxilia officiis divinis desideravit ille magnus deus. Primo indignum est, ut alicuius opera indigeret, et quidem mortui, quum dignius ab initio deum aliquem fecisset, qui mortui erat operam desideraturus. Sed nec operae locum video. Totum enim hoc mundi corpus sive innatum et infectum secundum Pythagoram, sive natum et factum secundum Platonem, semel utique in ista constructione dispositum et instructum et ordinatum cum omnis rationis gubernaculo inventum est. Imperfectum non

potuit esse, quod perfecit omnia. Nihil Saturnum et Saturniam gentem exspectabat. Vani erunt homines, nisi certi sint, a primordio et pluvias de coelo ruisse, et sidera radiasse, et lumina floruisse, et tonitrua mugisse et ipsum Iovem, quae in manu eius ponitis, fulmina timuisse; item omnem frugem ante Liberum et Cererem et Minervam, imo ante illum aliquem principem hominem de terra exuberasse, quia nihil continendo et sustinendo homini prospectum post hominem potuit inferri. Denique invenisse dicuntur necessaria ista vitae, non instituisse. Quod autem invenitur, fuit; et quod fuit, non eius deputabitur, qui invenit, sed eius qui instituit. Erat enim, antequam inveniretur. Ceterum si propterea Liber deus, quod vitem demonstravit, male cum Lucullo actum est, qui primus cerasa ex Ponto Italiae promulgavit, quod non est propterea consecratus, ut novae frugis auctor, quia inventor et ostensor. Quamobrem si ab initio et instructa et certis exercendorum officiorum suorum rationibus dispensata universitas constitit, vacat ex hac parte caussa allegendae humanitatis in divinitatem, quia quas illis stationes et potestates distribuistis, tam fuerunt ab initio, quam et fuissent, etiamsi deos istos non creassetis. Sed convertimini ad caussam aliam, respondentes collationem divinitatis meritorum remunerandorum fuisse rationem. Et hinc concedetis, opinor, illum deum deificum iustitia praecellere, qui nec temere, nec indigne nec prodige tantum praemium dispensarit. Volo igitur merita recensere, an eiusmodi sint, ut illos in coelum extulerint, et non potius in imum tartarum demerserint, quem carcerem poenarum infernarum cum

multis affirmatis. Illuc enim abstrudi solent impii quique in parentes, et in sorores incesti, et maritarum adulteri, et virginum raptores et puerorum contaminatores, et qui saeviunt, et qui occidunt, et qui furantur, et qui decipiunt, et quicunque similes sunt alicuius dei vestri, quem neminem integrum a crimine aut vitio probare poteritis, nisi hominem negaveritis. Atquin ut illos homines fuisse non potestis negare, etiam istae notae accedunt, quae nec deos postea factos credi permittunt. Si enim talibus vos puniendis praesidetis, si commercium, colloquium, convictum malorum et turpium probi quique respuitis, horum autem pares deus ille maiestatis suae consortio ascivit, quid ergo damnatis, quorum collegas adoratis? Suggillatio est in coelo vestra iustitia. Deos facite criminosissimos quosque, ut placeatis diis vestris. Illorum est honor consecratio coaequalium. Sed ut omittam huius indignitatis retractatum, probi et integri et boni fuerint. Quot tamen potiores viros apud inferos reliquistis? aliquem de sapientia Socratem, de iustitia Aristidem, de militia Themistoclem, de sublimitate Alexandrum, de felicitate Polycratem, de copia Croesum, de eloquentia Demosthenem. Quis ex illis diis vestris gravior et sapientior Catone, iustior et militarior Scipione? quis sublimior Pompeio, felicior Sylla, copiosior Crasso, eloquentior Tullio? Quanto dignius istos deos ille assumendos expectasset, praescius utique potiorum? Properavit, opinor, et coelum semel clusit, et nunc utique melioribus apud inferos mussitantibus erubescit.

XII. Cesso iam de istis, ut qui sciam me ex ipsa veritate demonstraturum quid non sint, quum osten-

dero quid sint. Quantum igitur de diis vestris, nomina solummodo video quorundam veterum mortuorum et fabulas audio, et sacra de fabulis recognosco; quantum autem de simulacris ipsis, nihil aliud deprehendo, quam materias sorores esse vasculorum instrumentorumque communium, vel ex iisdem vasculis et instrumentis quasi fatum consecratione mutantes, licentia artis transfigurante, et quidem contumeliosissime et in ipso opere sacrilege, ut revera nobis maxime, qui propter deos ipsos plectimur, solatium poenarum esse possit, quod eadem et ipsi patiuntur, ut fiant. Crucibus et stipitibus imponitis Christianos: quod simulacrum non prius argilla deformat cruci et stipiti superstructa? In patibulo primum corpus dei vestri dedicatur. Ungulis deraditis latera Christianorum; at in deos vestros per omnia membra validius incumbunt asciae et runcinae et scobinae. Cervices ponimus: ante plumbum et glutinum et gomphos sine capite sunt dii vestri. Ad bestias impellimur, certe quas Libero et Cybele et Coelesti applicatis. Ignibus urimur: hoc et illi a prima quidem massa. In metalla damnamur: inde censentur dii vestri. In insulas relegamur: solet et in insulis aliquis deus vester aut nasci aut mori. Si per haec constat divinitas aliqua, ergo qui puniuntur consecrantur, et numina erunt dicenda supplicia. Sed plane non sentiunt has iniurias et contumelias suae fabricationis dii vestri, sicut nec obsequia. O impiae voces, o sacrilega convicia! infrendite, inspumate! iidem estis, qui Senecam aliquem pluribus et amarioribus de vestra superstitione perorantem reprehendistis. Igitur si statuas et imagines frigidas mortuo-

rum suorum simillimas non adoramus, quas milvi et mures et araneae intelligunt, nonne laudem magis, quam poenam, merebatur repudium agniti erroris? Possumus enim videri laedere eos, quos certi sumus omnino non esse? Quod non est, nihil ab ullo patitur, quia non est.

XIII. Sed nobis dei sunt, inquitis. Et quomodo vos e contrario impii et sacrilegi et irreligiosi erga deos vestros deprehendimini, qui quos praesumitis esse, negligatis, quos timetis, destruatis, quos etiam vindicatis, illudatis? Recognoscite, si mentiar. Primo quidem, cum alii alios colitis, utique quos non colitis, offenditis. Praelatio alterius sine contumelia alterius non potest procedere, quia nec electio sine reprobatione. Iam ergo contemnitis, quos reprobatis, quos reprobando offendere non timetis. Nam ut supra perstrinximus, status dei cuiusque in senatus aestimatione pendebat. Deus non erat, quem homo consultus noluisset et nolendo damnasset. Domesticos deos, quos lares dicitis, domestica potestate tractatis pignerando, venditando, demutando, aliquando in cacabulum de Saturno, aliquando in trullam de Minerva, ut quisque contritus atque contusus est, dum diu colitur, ut quisque dominus sanctiorem expertus est domesticam necessitatem. Publicos aeque publico iure foedatis, quos in hastario vectigales habetis. Sic Capitolium, sic olitorium forum petitur; sub eadem voce praeconis, sub eadem hasta, sub eadem annotatione quaestoris divinitas addicta conducitur. Sed enim agri tributo onusti viliores, hominum capita stipendio censa ignobiliora; nam hae sunt notae captivitatis. Dii vero, qui magis tributarii, magis sancti, imo

qui magis sancti, magis tributarii. Maiestas quaestuaria efficitur. Circuit cauponas religio mendicans. Exigitis mercedem pro solo templi, pro aditu sacri; non licet deos nosse gratis, venales sunt. Quid omnino ad honorandos eos facitis, quod non etiam mortuis vestris conferatis? aedes proinde, aras proinde. Idem habitus et insignia in statuis. Ut aetas, ut ars, ut negotium mortui fuit, ita deus est. Quo differt ab epulo Iovis silicernium? a simpulo obba? ab haruspice pollinctor? nam et haruspex mortuis apparet. Sed digne imperatoribus defunctis honorem divinitatis dicatis, quibus et viventibus eum addicitis. Accepto ferent dii vestri, imo gratulabuntur, quod pares eis fiant domini sui. Sed quum Larentinam publicum scortum, velim saltem Laidem aut Phrynen, inter Iunones et Cereres ac Dianas adoratis; quum Simonem Magum statua et inscriptione sancti dei inauguratis; quum de paedagogiis aulicis nescio quem synodi deum facitis: licet non nobiliores dii veteres, tamen contumeliam a vobis deputabunt, hoc et aliis licuisse, quod solis antiquitas contulit.

XIV. Nolo et ritus vestros recensere; non dico, quales sitis in sacrificando, cum enecta et tabidosa et scabiosa quaeque mactatis; cum de opimis et integris supervacua quaeque truncatis capitula et ungulas, quae domi quoque pueris vel canibus destinassetis; cum de decima Herculis nec tertiam partem in aram eius imponitis. Laudo magis sapientiam, quod de perdito aliquid eripitis. Sed conversus ad litteras vestras, quibus informamini ad prudentiam, et ad liberalia officia, quanta invenio ludibria? deos inter se

propter Troianos et Achivos ut gladiatorum paria congressos depugnasse; Venerem humana sagitta sauciatam, quod filium suum Aenean paene interfectum ab eodem Diomede rapere vellet; Martem tredecim mensibus in vinculis paene consumptum; Iovem, ne eandem vim a ceteris coelitibus experiretur, opera cuiusdam monstri liberatum, et nunc flentem Sarpedonis casum, nunc foede subantem in sororem sub commemoratione non ita delictarum iampridem amicarum. Exinde quis non poëta ex auctoritate principis sui dedecorator invenitur deorum? Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit, ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat. Est et ille de lyricis (Pindarum dico) qui Aesculapium canit avaritiae merito, qua medicinam nocenter exercebat, fulmine vindicatum. Malus Iupiter, si fulmen illius est, impius in nepotem, invidus in artificem. Haec neque vera prodi, neque falsa confingi apud religiosissimos oportebat. Nec tragici quidem aut comici parcunt, ut non aerumnas vel errores domus alicuius dei praefentur. Taceo de philosophis, Socrate contentus, qui in contumeliam deorum quercum et hircum et canem deierabat. Sed propterea damnatus est Socrates, quia deos destruebat. Plane olim, id est semper, veritas odio est. Tamen cum poenitentia sententiae Athenienses et criminatores Socratis postea afflixerint, et imaginem eius auream in templo collocarint, rescissa damnatio testimonium Socrati reddidit. Sed et Diogenes nescio quid in Herculem ludit, et Romanus Cynicus Varro trecentos Ioves, sive Iupiteres dicendum, sine capitibus introducit.

XV. Cetera lasciviae ingenia etiam voluptatibus vestris per deorum dedecus operantur. Dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates, utrum mimos an deos vestros in iocis et strophis rideatis: moechum Anubim, et masculum Lunam, et Dianam flagellatam, et Iovis mortui testamentum recitatum, et tres Hercules famelicos irrisos. Sed et histrionum litterae omnem foeditatem eorum designant. Luget Sol filium iactatum de coelo laetantibus vobis, et Cybele pastorem suspirat fastidiosum, non erubescentibus vobis. Et sustinetis Iovis elogia cantari, et Iunonem, Venerem, Minervam a pastore iudicari. Quid, quod imago dei vestri ignominiosum caput et famosum vestit? quod corpus impurum et ad istam artem effeminatione productum Minervam aliquam vel Herculem repraesentat? Nonne violatur maiestas et divinitas constupratur plaudentibus vobis? Plane religiosiores estis in cavea, ubi super sanguinem humanum, super inquinamenta poenarum proinde saltant dii vestri, argumenta et historias noxiis ministrantes, nisi quod et ipsos deos vestros saepe noxii induunt. Vidimus aliquando castratum Atyn, illum deum ex Pessinunte, et qui vivus ardebat, Herculem induerat. Risimus et inter ludicras meridianorum crudelitates Mercurium mortuos cauterio examinantem. Vidimus et Iovis fratrem gladiatorum cadavera cum malleo deducentem. Singula ista quaeque adhuc investigare quis possit? Si honorem inquietant divinitatis, si maiestatis vestigia obsoletant, de contemptu utique censentur, tam eorum qui eiusmodi factitant, quam eorum quibus factitant. Sed ludicra ista sunt. Ceterum si adiiciam, quae non minus conscientia omni-

um recognoscent, in templis adulteria componi, inter aras lenocinia tractari, in ipsis plerumque aedituorum et sacerdotum tabernaculis, sub iisdem vittis et apicibus et purpuris, thure flagrante libidinem expungi: nescio, plusne de vobis dii vestri, quam de Christianis querantur. Certe sacrilegi de vestris semper apprehenduntur. Christiani enim templa nec interdiu norunt; spoliarent forsitan ea et ipsi, si et ipsi ea adorarent. Quid ergo colunt, qui talia non colunt? Iam quidem intelligi subiacet veritatis esse cultores, qui mendacii non sint: nec errare amplius in eo, in quo errasse se recognoscendo cessaverint. Hoc prius capite, et omnem hinc sacramenti nostri ordinem haurite, repercussis ante tamen opinionibus falsis.

XVI. Nam, ut quidam, somniastis caput asininum esse deum nostrum. Hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem eiusmodi inseruit. Is enim in quinta historiarum suarum bellum Iudaicum exorsus ab origine gentis, etiam de ipsa tam origine, quam de nomine et religione gentis quae voluit argumentatus, Iudaeos refert Aegypto expeditos, sive, ut putavit, extorres, in vastis Arabiae locis aquarum egentissimis, cum siti macerarentur, onagris, qui forte de pastu potum petituri aestimabantur, indicibus fontis usos ob eam gratiam consimilis bestiae superficiem consecrasse. Atque ita inde, opinor, praesumptum, nos quoque ut Iudaicae religionis propinquos, eidem simulacro initiari. At enim idem Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus, in eadem historia refert Cnaeum Pompeium, cum Hierusalem cepisset, propterea que templum adiisset speculandis Iudaicae religionis arcanis, nullum illic reperisse simulacrum.

Et utique si id colebatur, quod aliqua effigie repraesentabatur, nusquam magis quam in sacrario suo exhiberetur, eo magis, quia nec verebatur extraneos arbitros quamquam vana cultura. Solis enim sacerdotibus adire licitum, et conspectus ceterorum velo oppanso interdicebatur. Vos tamen non negabitis, et iumenta omnia et totos cantherios cum sua Epona coli a vobis. Hoc forsitan improbamur, quod inter cultores omnium pecudum bestiarumque asinarii tantum sumus. Sed et qui crucis nos religiosos putat, consecraneus noster erit. Cum lignum aliquod propitiatur, viderit habitus, dum materiae qualitas eadem sit; viderit forma dum id ipsum dei corpus sit. Et tamen quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica, et Ceres Pharia, quae sine effigie rudi palo et informi ligno prostat? Pars crucis est omne robur, quod erecta statione defigitur; nos, si forte, integrum et totum deum colimus. Diximus originem deorum vestrorum a plastis de cruce induci. Sed et Victorias adoratis, cum in tropaeis cruces intestina sint tropaeorum. Religio Romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa iurat, signa omnibus diis praeponit. Omnes illi imaginum suggestes in signis monilia crucum sunt. Siphara illa vexillorum et cantabrorum stolae crucum sunt. Laudo diligentiam, noluistis nudas et incultas cruces consecrare. Alii plane humanius et verisimilius Solem credunt deum nostrum. Ad Persas, si forte, deputabimur (licet solem non in linteo depictum adoremus) habentes ipsum ubique in suo clypeo. Denique inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari. Sed et plerique vestrum affectatione aliquando et coelestia adorandi

ad solis ortum labia vibratis. Aeque si diem solis laetitiae indulgemus, alia longe ratione quam de religione solis, secundo loco ab eis sumus, qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt, exorbitantes et ipsi a Iudaico more, quem ignorant. Sed nova iam dei nostri in ista civitate proxime editio publicata est, ex quo quidam in frustrandis bestiis mercenarius noxius picturam proposuit cum eiusmodi inscriptione: DEUS CHRISTIANORUM ONOKOITHΣ. Is erat auribus asininis, altero pede ungulatus, librum gestans, et togatus. Risimus et nomen et formam. Sed illi debebant adorare statim biforme numen, quia et canino et leonino capite commistos, et de capro et de ariete cornutos, et a lumbis hircos, et a cruribus serpentes, et planta vel tergo alites deos receperunt. Haec ex abundanti, ne quid rumoris irrepercussum quasi de conscientia praeterissemus. Quae omnia, conversi iam ad demonstrationem religionis nostrae, repurgavimus.

XVII. Quod colimus [nos], deus unus est; qui totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum, corporum, spirituum, verbo, quo iussit, ratione, qua disposuit, virtute, qua potuit, de nihilo expressit, in ornamentum maiestatis suae: unde et Graeci nomen mundo *κόσμον* accommodaverunt. Invisibilis est, etsi videatur; incomprehensibilis, etsi per gratiam repraesentetur; inaestimabilis, etsi humanis sensibus aestimetur; ideo verus et tantus est. Ceterum quod videri communiter, quod comprehendi, quod aestimari potest, minus est et oculis quibus occupatur, et manibus quibus contaminatur, et sensibus quibus invenitur. Quod vero immensum est, soli sibi

notum est. Hoc est quod deum aestimari facit, dum aestimari non capit. Ita eum vis magnitudinis et notum hominibus obiicit et ignotum. Et haec est summa delicti nolentium recognoscere, quem ignorare non possunt. Vultis ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus, quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur, vultis ex animae ipsius testimonio comprobemus? Quae licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus ac concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis diis exancillata, cum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, deum nominat, hoc solo nomine, quia proprio dei veri: deus magnus, deus bonus, et quod deus dederit, omnium vox est. Iudicem quoque contestatur illum, deus videt, et deo commendo, et deus mihi reddet. O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae! Denique pronuntians haec, non ad Capitolium, sed ad coelum respicit. Novit enim sedem dei vivi; ab illo, et inde descendit.

XVIII. Sed quo plenius et impressius tam ipsum dispositiones eius et voluntates adiremus, instrumentum adiecit litteraturae, si qui velit de deo inquirere, et inquisito invenire, et invento credere, et credito deservire. Viros enim iustitia et innocentia dignos deum nosse et ostendere a primordio in seculum emisit spiritu divino inundatos, quo praedicarent deum unicum esse, qui universa condiderit, qui hominem de humo struxerit; hic enim est verus Prometheus; qui seculum certis temporum dispositionibus et exitibus ordinaverit; exinde qui signa maiestatis suae in-

dicantis ediderit per imbres, per ignes; qui demerendo sibi disciplinas determinaverit, quas ignoratis aut deseritis; sed et observantibus his praemia destinarit, ut qui prodacto aevo isto iudicaturus sit suos cultores in vitae aeternae retributionem, profanos in ignem aeque perpetem et iugem, suscitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis et reformatis et recensitis ad utriusque meriti dispunctionem. Haec et nos risimus aliquando. De vestris fuimus; fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani. Quos diximus praedicatores, prophetae de officio praefandi vocantur. Voces eorem itemque virtutes, quas ad fidem divinitatis edebant, in thesauris litterarum manent, nec istae nunc latent. Ptolemaeorum eruditissimus, quem Philadelphum supernominant, et omnis litteraturae sagacissimus, cum studio bibliothecarum Pisistratum, opinor, aemularetur, inter cetera memoriarum, quibus aut vetustas aut curiositas aliqua ad famam patrocinabatur, ex suggestu Demetrii Phalerei grammaticorum tunc probatissimi, cui praefecturam mandaverat, libros a Iudaeis quoque postulavit, proprias [scilicet] atque vernaculas litteras, quas soli habebant. Ex ipsis enim et ad ipsos semper prophetae peroraverant, scilicet ad domesticam dei gentem ex patrum gratia. Hebraei retro, qui nunc Iudaei; igitur et litterae Hebraeae, et eloquium. Sed ne notitia vacaret, hoc quoque Ptolemaeo a Iudaeis subscriptum est, septuaginta et duobus interpretibus indultis, quos Menedemus quoque philosophus providentiae vindex de sententiae communione suspexit. Affirmavit haec vobis etiam Aristaeas. Ita in Graecum stylum exaperta monimenta reliquit. Hodie apud Serapeum Ptolemaei biblio-

thecae cum ipsis Hebraicis litteris exhibentur. Sed et Iudaei palam lectitant; vectigalis libertas vulgo aditur sabbatis omnibus. Qui audierit, inveniet deum; qui etiam studuerit intelligere, cogetur et credere.

XIX. Primam igitur instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas vindicat. Apud vos quoque religionis est instar, fidem de temporibus asserere.

[Primus enim prophetes Moyses, qui mundi conditionem et generis humani pullulationem et mox ultricem iniquitatis illius aevi vim cataclysmi de praeterito exorsus est, per vaticinationem usque ad suam aetatem et deinceps per res suas futurorum imagines edidit, penes quem et temporum ordo digestus ab initio supputationem seculi praestitit: superior invenitur annis circiter trecentis, quam ille antiquissimus penes vos Danaus in Argo transvenisset; Troiano denique proelio ad mille annos ante est, unde et ipso Saturno. Secundum enim historiam Thalli, qua relatum est bellum Assyriorum et Saturnum Titanorum regem cum Iove dimicasse, ostenditur bellum CCCXX et duobis annis Iliacum exitium antecessisse. Per hunc Moysen etiam illa lex propria Iudaeis a deo missa est. Deinceps multa et alii prophetae vetustiores litteris vestris. Nam et qui ultimo cecinit, aut aliquantulo praecucurrit, aut certe concurrit aetate sapientiae auctoribus, etiam latoribus legis. Cyri enim et Darii regno fuit Zacharias, quo in tempore Thales, physicorum princeps, sciscitanti Croeso nihil certum de divinitate respondit, turbatus scilicet vocibus prophetarum. Solon eidem regi finem longae vitae intuendum praedicavit non aliter, quam prophetae; adeo respici potest, tam iura vestra quam

studia de lege deque divina doctrina concepisse. Quod prius est, hoc sit semen necesse est. Inde quaedam nobiscum vel prope nos habetis. De sophia amor eius philosophia vocitatus est, de prophetia affectatio eius poeticam vaticinationem deputavit. Gloriae homines, si quid invenerant, ut proprium facerent, adulteraverunt; etiam fructibus a semine degenerare contigit. Multis adhuc de vetustate modis consisterem divinarum litterarum, si non maior auctoritas illis ad fidem de veritatis suae viribus, quam de aetatis annalibus suppetisset. Quid enim potentius patrocinabitur testimonio earum, nisi dispunctio quotidiana seculi totius, cum dispositiones regnorum, cum casus urbium, cum exitus gentium, cum status temporum ita omnibus respondent, quemadmodum ante millia annorum praenuntiabantur? Unde et spes nostra, quam ridetis, animatur, et fiducia, quam praesumptionem vocatis, corroboratur. Idonea est enim recognitio praeteritorum ad disponendam fiduciam futurorum: eadem voces praedicaverunt utramque partem, eadem litterae notaverunt. Unum est tempus apud illas, quod apud nos separari videtur. Ita omnia quae supersunt improbata sunt nobis, quia cum illis, quae probata sunt, tunc futuris praedicabantur. Habetis, quod sciam, et vos Sibyllam, quatenus appellatione ista vera vates dei veri passim super ceteros, qui vaticinari videbantur, usurpata est, sicut vestrae Sibyllae nomen de veritate mentitae, quemadmodum et dei vestri.]

Omnes itaque substantias, omnesque materias, origines, ordines, venas veterani cuiusque styli vestri, gentes etiam plerasque et urbes insignes historiarum

et canas memoriarum, ipsas denique effigies litterarum, indices custodesque rerum, et (puto adhuc minus dicimus) ipsos inquam deos vestros, ipsa templa et oracula et sacra unius interim prophetae scrinium seculis vincit, in quo videtur thesaurus collocatus totius Iudaici sacramenti, et inde etiam nostri. Si quem audistis interim Moysen, Argivo Inacho pariter aetate est; quadringentis paene annis, nam et septem minus, Danaum, et ipsum apud vos vetustissimum, praevenit, mille circiter cladem Priami antecedit; possem etiam dicere, quingentis amplius et Homerum, habens quos sequar. Ceteri quoque prophetae, etsi Moysi postumant, extremissimi tamen eorum non retrosiores deprehenduntur primoribus vestris sapientibus et legiferis et historicis. Haec quibus ordinibus probari possint, non tam difficile est nobis exponere, quam enorme, nec arduum, sed interim longum. Multis instrumentis, cum digitorum supputariis gesticulis assidendum est. Reseranda antiquissimarum etiam gentium archiva, Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Phoenicum; advocandi etiam municipes eorum, per quos notitia subministrata est; aliqui Manethon Aegyptius, et Berosus Chaldaeus, sed et Iromus Phoenix Tyri rex; sectatores quoque eorum Mendesius Ptolemaeus, et Menander Ephesius, et Demetrius Phalereus, et rex Iuba, et Appion, et Thallus, et qui istos aut probat aut revincit, Iudaeus Iosephus antiquitatum Iudaicarum vernaculus vindex. Graecorum etiam censuales conferendi, et quae quando sint gesta, ut concatenationes temporum aperiantur, per quae luceant annalium numeri. Peregrinandum est in historias et litteras orbis. Et tamen quasi partem iam

probationis intulimus, quum per quae probari possint, aspersimus. Verum differre praestat, ne vel minus persequamur festinando, vel diutius evagemur persequendo.

XX. Plus iam offerimus pro ista dilatione, maiestatem scripturarum, si non vetustatem; divinas probamus, si dubitatur antiquas. Nec hoc tardius aut aliunde discendum; coram sunt, quae docebunt, mundus, et seculum, et exitus. Quicquid agitur, praenuntiabatur; quicquid videtur, audiebatur. Quod terrae vorant urbes, quod insulas maria fraudant; quod externa atque interna bella dilaniant; quod regnis regna compulsant; quod fames et lues et locales quaeque clades et frequentiae pleraque montium vastant; quod humiles sublimitate, sublimes humilitate mutantur; quod iustitia rarescit, iniquitas increbrescit, bonarum omnium disciplinarum cura torpescit; quod etiam officia temporum et elementorum munia exorbitant; quod et monstris et portentis naturalium forma turbatur, providenter scripta sunt. Dum patimur, leguntur; dum recognoscimus, probantur. Idoneum, opinor, testimonium divinitatis veritas divinationis. Hinc igitur apud nos futurorum quoque fides tuta est, iam scilicet probatorum, quia cum illis, quae quotidie probantur, praedicebantur. Eadem voces sonant, eadem litterae notant, idem spiritus pulsat, unum tempus est divinationi futura praefanti apud homines, si forte distinguitur dum expungitur, dum ex futuro praesens, dehinc ex praesenti praeteritum deputatur. Quid delinquimus, oro vos, futura quoque credentes, qui iam didicimus illis per duos gradus credere?

XXI. Sed quoniam edidimus, antiquissimis Iudaeorum instrumentis sectam istam esse suffultam, quam aliquanto novellam, ut Tiberiani temporis, plerique sciunt, profitentibus nobis quoque; fortasse an hoc nomine de statu eius retractetur, quasi sub umbraculo insignissimae religionis, certe licitae, aliquid propriae praesumptionis abscondat, vel quia praeter aetatem neque de victus exceptionibus, neque de sollemnitatibus dierum, neque de ipso signaculo corporis, neque de consortio nominis cum Iudaeis agimus, quod utique oporteret, si eidem deo manciparemur? Sed et vulgus iam scit Christum, hominem utique aliquem, qualem Iudaei iudicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit. Verum neque de Christo erubescimus, quum sub nomine eius deputari et damnari iuvat, neque de deo aliter praesumimus. Necesse est igitur pauca dicamus de Christo ut deo. Tantum Iudaeis erat apud deum gratia, ubi et insignis iustitia et fides originalium auctorum, unde illis et generis magnitudo et regni sublimitas floruit et tanta felicitas, ut dei vocibus, quibus edocebantur, de promerendo deo, et non offendendo, praemonerentur. Sed quanta deliquerint, fiducia patrum inflati [ad delirandum], derivantes a disciplina in profanum modum, etsi ipsi non confiterentur, probaret exitus hodiernus ipsorum. Dispersi, palabundi, et coeli et soli sui extorres vagantur per orbem sine homine, sine deo rege, quibus nec advenarum iure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur. Cum haec illis sanctae voces praeminarentur, eaedem fere semper omnes ingerebant fore, uti sub extimis curriculis seculi ex omni iam gente et populo et loco cultores sibi

allegeret deus multo fideliores, in quos gratiam transferret, et pleniorem quidem ob disciplinae auctioris capacitatem. Venit igitur, qui ad reformandam et illuminandam eam venturus a deo praenuntiabatur, Christus ille filius dei. Huius igitur gratiae disciplinaeque arbiter et magister, illuminator atque deductor generis humani, filius dei annunciabatur, non quidem ita genitus, ut erubescat de filii nomine aut de patris semine; non de sororis incesto, nec de stupro filiae aut coniugis alienae deum patrem passus est, squamatum aut cornutum aut plumatum amatorem, aut in aurum conversum: Iovis enim ista sunt numina vestri. Ceterum dei filius nullam de impudicitia habet matrem, etiam quam videtur habere non nupserat. Sed prius substantiam edisseram, et ita nativitatis qualitas intelligetur. Iam ediximus deum universitatem hanc mundi verbo et ratione et virtute molitum. Apud vestros quoque sapientes λόγον, id est sermonem atque rationem, constat artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determinat factitatorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit, eundem et fatum vocari, et deum et animum Iovis, et necessitatem omnium rerum. Haec Cleanthes in spiritum congerit, quem permeatorem universitatis affirmat. Et nos etiam sermoni atque rationi itemque virtuti, per quae omnia molitum deum ediximus, propriam substantiam spiritum inscribimus, cui et sermo insit pronuntianti, et ratio adsit disponenti, et virtus praesit perficienti. Hunc ex deo prolatum didicimus, et prolatione generatum, et iccirco filium dei et deum dictum ex unitate substantiae. Nam et deus spiritus. Et cum radius ex sole porrigitur, por-

tio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur. Ita de spiritu spiritus, et de deo deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum. Manet integra et indefecta materiae matrix, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris: ita et quod de deo profectum est, deus est, et dei filius, et unus ambo. Ita et de spiritu spiritus, et de deo deus modulo alterum, non numero, gradu, non statu fecit, et a matrice non recessit, sed excessit. Iste igitur dei radius, ut retro semper praedicabatur, delapsus in virginem quandam, et in utero eius caro figuratus, nascitur homo deo mistus. Caro spiritu instructa nutritur, adolescit, affatur, docet, operatur et Christus est. Recipite interim hanc fabulam, similis est vestris., dum ostendimus, quomodo Christus probetur. Sciebant et qui penes vos eiusmodi fabulas aemulas ad destructionem veritatis istiusmodi praeministraverunt. Sciebant et Iudaei venturum esse Christum, scilicet quibus prophetae loquebantur. Nam et nunc adventum eius exspectant, nec alia magis inter nos et illos compulsatio est, quam quod iam venisse non credunt. Duobus enim adventibus eius significatis, primo, qui iam expunctus est in humilitate conditionis humanae; secundo, qui concludendo seculo imminet in sublimitate divinitatis exsertae: primum non intelligendo, secundum, quem manifestius praedicatum sperant, unum existimaverunt. Ne enim intelligerent pristinum, credituri, si intellexissent, et consecuturi salutem, si credidissent, meritum fuit delictum eorum. Ipsi legunt ita scriptum mulctatos se sapientia et intelligentia et oculorum et aurium fruge. Quem igitur solummodo hominem prae-

sumpserant de humilitate, sequebatur uti magum aestimarent de potestate, cum ille verbo daemonia de hominibus excuteret, caecos reluminaret, leprosos purgaret, paralyticos restringeret, mortuos denique verbo redderet vitae, elementa ipsa famularet, compescens procellas et freta ingrediens, ostendens se esse λόγον dei, id est, verbum illud primordiale primogenitum, virtute et ratione comitatum, et spiritu fultum, eundem, qui verbo omnia et faceret et fecisset. Ad doctrinam vero eius, qua revincebantur magistri primoresque Iudaeorum, ita exasperabantur, maxime quod ad eum ingens multitudo deflecteret, ut postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti, violentia suffragiorum in crucem dedi sibi extorserint. Praedixerat et ipse ita facturos. Parum hoc, si non et prophetae retro. Et tamen suffixus spiritum cum verbo sponte dimisit, praevento carnificis officio. Eodem momento dies, medium orbem signante sole, subducta est. Deliquium utique putaverunt, qui id quoque super Christo praedicatum non scierunt; [ratione non deprehensa, negaverunt;] et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in arcanis vestris habetis. Tunc Iudaei detractum et sepulcro conditum magna etiam militaris custodiae diligentia circumsederunt, ne, quia praedixerat tertia die resurrecturum se a morte, discipuli furto amoliti cadaver fallerent suspectos. Sed ecce die tertia concussa repente terra, et mole revoluta, quae obstruxerat sepulcrum, et custodia pavore disiecta, nullis apparentibus discipulis, nihil in sepulcro repertum est, praeterquam exuviae sepulti. Nihilominus tamen primores, quorum intererat et scelus divulgare, et po-

pulum vectigalem et famularem sibi a fide revocare, surreptum a discipulis iactitaverunt. Nam nec ille se in vulgus eduxit, ne impii errore liberarentur, ut et fides, non mediocri praemio destinata, difficultate constaret. Cum discipulis autem quibusdam apud Galilaeam Iudaeae regionem ad quadraginta dies egit, docens eos quae docerent. Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium praedicandi per orbem, circumfusa nube in coelum est ereptus, multo verius quam apud vos asseverare de Romulo Proculi solent. Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse iam pro sua conscientia Christianus Caesari tum Tiberio nuntiavit. Sed et Caesares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent seculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares. Discipuli quoque diffusi per orbem, ex praecepto magistri dei paruerunt, qui et ipsi a Iudaeis insequentibus multa perpessi, utique pro fiducia veritatis libenter, Romae postremo per Neronis saevitiam, sanguinem Christianum seminaverunt. Sed monstrabimus vobis idoneos testes Christi, ipsos illos, quos adoratis. Multum est, si eos adhibeam, ut credatis Christianis, propter quos non creditis Christianis. Interim hic est ordo nostrae institutionis, hunc edidimus et sectae et nominis censum cum suo auctore. Nemo iam infamiam incutiat, nemo aliud existimet, quia nec fas est ulli de sua religione mentiri. Ex eo enim, quod aliud a se coli dicit, quam colit, negat quod colit, et culturam et honorem in alterum transfert, et transferendo iam non colit quod negavit. Dicimus, et palam dicimus, et vobis torquentibus lacerati et cruenti vociferamur: Deum colimus per Christum. Illum hominem pu-

tate, per eum et in eo se cognosci vult deus et coli. Ut autem Iudaeis respondeam, et ipsi deum per [hominem] Moysen colere didicerunt; ut Graecis occurram, Orpheus Pieriae, Musaeus Athenis, Melampus Argis, Trophonius Boeotiae initiationibus homines obligaverunt; ut ad vos quoque dominatores gentium adspiciam, homo fuit Pompilius Numa, qui Romanos operosissimis superstitionibus oneravit. Licuerit et Christo commentari divinitatem rem propriam; non qui rupices et adhuc feros homines multitudine tot numinum demerendorum attonitos efficiendo ad humanitatem temperaret, quod Numa; sed qui iam expolitos et ipsa urbanitate deceptos in agnitionem veritatis ocularet. Quaerite ergo, si vera sit ista divinitas Christi. Si ea est, qua cognita ad bonum quis reformetur, sequitur, ut falsa renuntietur quaevis alia contraria comperta; inprimis illa omni ratione, quae delitescens sub nominibus et imaginibus mortuorum, quibusdam signis et miraculis et oraculis fidem divinitatis operatur.

XXII. Atque adeo dicimus, esse substantias quasdam spiritales; nec nomen novum est. Sciunt daemonas philosophi, Socrate ipso ad daemonii arbitrium exspectante. Quidni? cum et ipsi daemonium adhaesisse a pueritia dicatur, dehortatorium plane a bono. Daemonas sciunt poetae, etiam vulgus indoctum in usum maledicti frequentat, nam et Satanam, principem huius mali generis, proinde de propria conscientia animae eadem ex sacramenti voce pronuntiat. Angelos quoque etiam Plato non negavit; utriusque nominis testes esse vel magi asserunt. Sed quomodo de angelis quibusdam sua sponte corruptis corruptior

gens daemonum evaserit damnata a deo cum generis auctoribus, et cum eo quem diximus principe, apud litteras sanctas ordine cognoscitur. Nunc de operatione eorum satis erit exponere. Operatio eorum est hominis eversio, sic malitia spiritalis a primordio auspicata est in hominis exitium. Itaque corporibus quidem et valetudines infligunt et aliquos casus acerbos, animae vero repentinos et extraordinarios per vim excessus. Suppetit illis ad utramque substantiam hominis adeundam mira subtilitas et tenuitas sua. Multum spiritalibus viribus licet, ut invisibiles et insensibiles in effectu potius quam in actu suo appareant. Si poma, si fruges nescio quod aurae latens vitium in flore praecipitat, in germine exanimat, in pubertate convulnerat, ac si caeca ratione tentatus aër pestilentes haustus suos offundit: eadem igitur obscuritate contagionis adspiratio daemonum et angelorum mentis quoque corruptelas agit furoribus et amentiis foedis, aut saevis libidinibus cum erroribus variis; quorum iste potissimus, quo deos istos captis et circumscriptis hominum mentibus commendat, ut et sibi pabula propria nidoris et sanguinis procuret simulacris et imaginibus oblata, et quae illis accuratior pascua est, hominem a cogitatu verae divinitatis avertant praestigiis falsae divinationis. Quas et ipsas quomodo operentur, expediam. Omnis spiritus ales est. Hoc angeli et daemones. Igitur momento ubique sunt. Totus orbis illis locus unus est; quid ubique geratur, tam facile sciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. Sic et auctores interdum videri volunt eorum, quae annuntiant; et sunt plane malorum nonnun-

quam, bonorum tamen nunquam. Dispositiones etiam dei et tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt et nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt. Ita et hinc sumentes quasdam temporum sortes aemulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem. In oraculis autem quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Croesi, sciunt Pyrrhi. Ceterum testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renuntiavit, quo supra diximus; momento apud Lydiam fuerat. Habent de incolatu aëris et de vicinia siderum et de commercio nubium coelestes sapere paraturas, ut et pluvias, quas iam sentiunt, repromittant. Venefici plane et circa curas valetudinum. Laedunt enim primo, dehinc remedia praecipiunt ad miraculum nova, sive contraria, post quae desinunt laedere, et curasse creduntur. Quid ergo de ceteris ingeniis vel etiam viribus fallaciae spiritalis edisseram? phantasmata Castorum, et aquam cribro gestatam, et navem cingulo promotam, et barbam tactu irrufatam; ut numina lapides crederentur, et deus verus non quaereretur.

XXIII. Porro si et magi phantasmata edunt, et iam defunctorum infamant animas; si pueros in eloquium oraculi elidunt, si multa miracula circulatoriis praestigiis ludunt, si et somnia immittunt habentes semel invitatorum angelorum et daemonum assistentem sibi potestatem, per quos et caprae et mensae divinare consueverunt; quanto magis illa potestas de suo arbitrio et pro suo negotio studeat totis viribus operari, quod alienae praestat negotiationi? Aut si eadem et angeli et daemones operantur, quae et dii vestri; ubi est ergo praecellentia

divinitatis, quae utique superior omni potestate credenda est? Non ergo dignius praesumetur, ipsos esse, qui se deos faciant, cum eadem edant, quae faciant deos credi, quam pares angelis et daemonibus deos esse? Locorum differentia distinguitur, opinor, ut a templis deos aestimetis, quos alibi deos non dicitis; ut aliter dementire videatur, qui sacras turres pervolat, aliter qui tecta viciniae transilit; et alia vis pronuntietur in eo qui genitalia vel lacertos, alia in eo qui sibi gulam prosecat. Compar exitus furoris, et una ratio est instigationis. Sed hactenus verba, iam hinc demonstratio rei ipsius, qua ostendemus unam esse utriusque nominis qualitatem. Edatur hic aliquis sub tribunalibus vestris, quem daemone agi constet. Iussus a quolibet Christiano loqui spiritus ille, tam se daemonem confitebitur de vero, quam alibi deum de falso. Aeque producatur aliquis ex iis, qui de deo pati existimantur, qui aris inhalantes numen de nidore concipiunt, qui ructando curantur, qui anhelando profantur. Ista ipsa Virgo Coelestis pluviarum pollicitatrix, iste ipse Aesculapius medicinarum demonstrator, alia die morituris Socordio et Thanatio et Asclepiodoto vitae sumministrator, nisi se daemones confessi fuerint, Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite. Quid isto opere manifestius? quid hac probatione fidelius? simplicitas veritatis in medio est; virtus illi sua assistit; nihil suspicari licebit. Magia aut aliqua eiusmodi fallacia fieri dicetis? si oculi vestri et aures permiserint vobis. Quid autem inniti potest adversus id, quod ostenditur nuda sinceritate? Si altera parte vere dei sunt, cur sese dae-

monia mentiuntur? an ut nobis obsequantur? Iam ergo subiecta est Christianis divinitas vestra; nec utique divinitas deputanda est, quae subdita est homini, et si quid ad dedecus facit, aemulis suis. Si altera parte daemones sunt vel angeli, cur se alibi pro diis agere respondent? Nam sicut illi, qui dii habentur, daemones se dicere noluissent, si vere dii essent, scilicet ne de maiestate se deponerent: ita et isti, quos directo daemones nostis, non auderent alibi pro diis agere, si aliqui omnino dii essent, quorum nominibus utuntur; vererentur enim abuti maiestate superiorum sine dubio et timendorum. Adeo nulla est divinitas ista quam tenetis, quia si esset, neque a daemoniis affectaretur, neque a diis negaretur. Cum ergo utraque pars concurrit in confessionem, deos esse negans, agnoscite unum genus esse, id est daemonas. Verum utrobique iam deos quaerite; quos enim praesumpseratis, daemonas esse cognoscitis. Eadem vero opera nostra ab eisdem diis vestris non tantum hoc detegentibus, quod neque ipsi dii sint neque ulli alii, etiam illud in continenti cognoscitis, qui sit vere deus, et an ille, et an unicus, quem Christiani profitemur, et an ita credendus colendusque, ut fides, ut disciplina disposita est Christianorum. Dicent ibidem: ecquis ille Christus cum sua fabula? si homo communis conditionis, si magus, si post mortem de sepulcro a discipulis surreptus, si nunc denique penes inferos, si non in coelis potius, et inde venturus cum totius mundi motu, cum horrore orbis, cum planctu omnium, sed non Christianorum, ut dei virtus et dei spiritus et sermo et sapientia et ratio et dei filius. Quodcunque ridetis, rideant et illi vobis-

cum; negent Christum omnem ab aevo animam restituto corpore iudicaturum. Dicant hoc pro tribunali, si forte, Minoën et Rhadamanthum secundum consensum Platonis et poetarum esse sortitos; suae saltem ignominiae et damnationis notam refutent: renuant se immundos spiritus esse, quod vel ex pabulis eorum sanguine et fumo et putidis rogis pecorum et impuratissimis linguis ipsorum vatum intelligi debuit; renuant ob malitiam praedamnatos se in eundem iudicii diem cum omnibus cultoribus et operatoribus suis. Atqui omnis haec nostra in illos dominatio et potestas de nominatione Christi valet, et de commemoratione eorum, quae sibi a deo per arbitrum Christum imminentia exspectant. Christum timentes in deo, et deum in Christo, subiiciuntur servis dei et Christi. Ita de contactu deque afflatu nostro, contemplatione et repraesentatione ignis illius correpti, etiam de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt inviti et dolentes, et vobis praesentibus erubescentes. Credite illis, cum verum de se loquuntur, qui mentientibus creditis. Nemo ad suum dedecus mentitur, quin potius ad honorem. Magis fides prona est adversus semetipsos confitentes, quam pro semetipsis negantes. Haec denique testimonia deorum vestrorum Christianos facere consueverunt, quia plurimum illis credendo Christo domino credimus. Ipsi litterarum nostrarum fidem accendunt, ipsi spei nostrae fidentiam aedificant. At colitis illos, quod sciam, etiam de sanguine Christianorum. Nollent itaque vos tam fructuosos, tam officiosos sibi amittere, vel ne a vobis quandoque Christianis fugentur, si illis sub Christiano volente vobis veritatem probare mentiri liceret.

XXIV. Omnis ista confessio illorum, qua se deos negant esse, quaque non alium deum respondent praeter unum, cui nos mancipamur, satis idonea est ad depellendum crimen laesae publicae et maxime Romanae religionis. Si enim non sunt dei pro certo, nec religio pro certo est; si religio non est, quia nec dei pro certo, nec nos pro certo rei sumus laesae religionis. At e contrario in vos exprobratio resultabit, qui mendacium colentes, veram religionem veri dei non modo negligendo, quin insuper expugnando, in verum committitis crimen verae irreligiositatis. Nunc, ut constaret illos deos esse, nonne conceditis de aestimatione communi aliquem esse sublimiorem et potentiorem velut principem mundi, perfectae potentiae et maiestatis? Nam et sic plerique disponunt divinitatem, ut imperium summae dominationis esse penes unum, officia eius penes multos velint; ut Plato Iovem magnum in coelo comitatum exercitu describit deorum pariter et daemonum. Itaque oportere et procurantes et praefectos et praesides pariter suspici. Et tamen quod facinus admittit, qui magis ad Caesarem promerendum et operam et spem suam transfert, nec appellationem dei ita ut imperatoris in alio quam principe confitetur, cum capitale esse iudicetur alium praeter Caesarem et dicere et audire? Colat alius deum, alius Iovem, alius ad coelum supplices manus tendat, alius ad aram Fidei, alius, si hoc putatis, nubes numeret orans, alius lacunaria, alius suam animam deo suo voveat, alius hirci. Videte enim ne et hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis et interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim, sed

cogar colere quem nolim. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem; atque adeo et Aegyptiis permissa est tam vanae superstitionis potestas, avibus et bestiis consecrandis, et capite damnandis, qui aliquem huiusmodi deum occiderit. Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Atargatis, ut Arabiae Dusares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Africae Coelestis, ut Mauritaniae Reguli sui: Romanas, ut opinor, provincias edidi, nec tamen Romanos deos earum, quia Romae non magis coluntur, quam qui per ipsam quoque Italiam municipali consecratione censentur: Casiniensium Delventinus, Narniensium Visidianus, Aesculanorum Ancharia, Volsiniensium Nortia, Ocriculanorum Valentia, Sutrinorum Hostia, Faliscorum in honorem patris Curis, unde accepit cognomen, Iuno. Sed nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate. Laedimus Romanos nec Romani habemur, quia non Romanorum deum colimus. Bene quod omnium deus est, cuius velimus aut nolimus omnes sumus. Sed apud vos quodvis colere ius est, praeter verum deum, quasi non hic magis omnium sit deus, cuius omnes sumus.

XXV. Satis mihi quidem videor probasse de falsa et vera divinitate, cum demonstravi, quemadmodum probatio consistat, non modo disputationibus nec argumentationibus, sed ipsorum etiam testimoniis, quos deos creditis, ut nihil iam ad hanc caussam sit retractandum. Quoniam tamen Romani nominis proprie mentio occurrit, non omittam congressionem, quam provocat illa praesumptio dicentium Romanos pro merito religiositatis diligentissimae in tantum sublimitatis elatos, ut orbem occuparint, et adeo deos esse,

ut praeter ceteros floreant, qui illis officium praeter ceteros faciant. Scilicet ista merces Romanis a diis pro gratia expensa est, Sterculius, et Mutunus, et Larentina provexit imperium. Peregrinos enim deos non putem extraneae genti magis fautum voluisse quam suae, et patrium solum, in quo nati, adulti, nobilitati, sepultique sunt, transfretanis dedisse. Viderit Cybele, si urbem Romanam ut memoriam Troiani generis adamavit, vernaculi sui scilicet adversus Achivorum arma protecti, si ad ultores transire prospexit, quos sciebat Graeciam Phrygiae debellatricem subacturos. Itaque maiestatis suae in urbem collatae grande documentum nostrae etiam aetati proposuit, cum Marco Aurelio apud Sirmium reipublicae exempto, die decimo sexto Kalendarum Aprilium, Archigallus ille sanctissimus, die nono Kalend. earundem, quo sanguinem impurum, lacertos quoque castrando libabat, pro salute imperatoris Marci iam intercepti solita aeque imperia mandavit. O nuntios tardos, o somniculosa diplomata, quorum vitio excessum imperatoris non ante Cybele cognovit, ne deam talem riderent Christiani. Sed non statim et Iupiter Cretam suam Romanis fascibus concuti sineret, oblitus antrum illud Idaeum, et aera Corybantia, et iucundissimum illic nutricis suae odorem. Nonne omni Capitolio tumulum illum suum praeposuisset, ut ea potius orbi terra praecelleret, quae cineres Iovis texit? Vellet Iuno Punicam urbem posthabita Samo dilectam ab Aeneadarum utique genere deleri? Quod si

Hic illius arma,
Hic currus fuit, hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
Si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque:

Misera illa coniunx Iovis et soror adversus fata non valuit plane:

Fato stat Iupiter ipse.

Nec tantum tamen honoris Romani dicaverunt fatis dedentibus sibi Carthaginem adversus destinatum votumque Iunonis, quantum prostitutissimae lupae Larentinae. Plures deos vestros regnasse certum est. Igitur si conferendi imperii tenent potestatem, cum ipsi regnarent, a quibus acceperant eam gratiam? quem coluerat Saturnus et Iupiter? aliquem opinor Sterculium, [sed Romae postea] cum indigenis suis. Etiam si qui non regnarunt, tamen regnabatur ab aliis nondum cultoribus suis, ut qui nondum dii habebantur. Ergo aliorum est regnum dare, quia regnabatur multo ante quam isti dii inciderentur. Sed quam vanum est fatigium Romani nominis religiositatis meritis deputare, cum post imperium sive adhuc regnum [auctis iam rebus] religio profecerit. Nam etsi a Numa concepta est curiositas superstitiosa, nondum tamen aut simulacris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat; frugi religio et pauperes ritus, et nulla Capitolia certantia coelo, sed temeraria de cespite altaria, et vasa adhuc Samia, et nidor ex illis, et deus ipse nusquam. Nondum enim tunc ingenia Graecorum atque Tuscorum fingendis simulacris urbem inundaverant. Ergo non ante religiosi Romani, quam magni; ideoque non ob hoc magni, quia religiosi. Atqui quomodo ob religionem magni, quibus magnitudo de irreligiositate provenit! Ni fallor enim, omne regnum vel imperium bellis quaeritur et victoriis propagatur. Porro bella et victoriae cap-

tis et eversis plurimum urbibus constant. Id negotium sine deorum iniuria non est. Eaedem strages moenium et templorum, pares caedes civium et sacerdotum, nec dissimiles rapinae sacrarum divitiarum et profanarum. Tot igitur sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophaea; tot de diis, quot de gentibus triumphi; tot manubiae, quot manent adhuc simulacra captivorum deorum. Et ab hostibus ergo suis sustinent adorari, et illis imperium sine fine decernunt, quorum magis iniurias quam adolationes remunerasse debuerant. Sed qui nihil sentiunt, tam impune laeduntur, quam frustra coluntur. Certe non potest fidei convenire, ut religionis meritis excrevisse videantur, qui, ut suggessimus, religionem aut laedendo creverunt, aut crescendo laeserunt. Etiam illi, quorum regna conflata sunt in imperii Romani summam, cum ea amitterent, sine religionibus non fuerunt.

XXVI. Videte igitur, ne ille regna dispenset, cuius est et orbis qui regnatur, et homo ipse qui regnat; ne ille vices dominationum ipsis temporibus in seculo ordinarit, qui ante omne tempus fuit et seculum corpus temporum fecit; ne ille civitates extollat aut deprimat, sub quo fuit aliquando sine civitatibus genus hominum. Quid erratis? prior est quibusdam diis suis silvestris Roma; ante regnavit, quam tantum ambitum Capitolii exstrueret. Regnaverunt et Babylonii ante pontifices, et Medi ante quindecemviros, et Aegyptii ante Salios, et Assyrii ante Lupercos, et Amazones ante virgines Vestales. Postremo si Romanae religiones regna praestant, nunquam retro Iudaea regnasset despectrix communium istarum di-

vinitatum, cuius et deum victimis, et templum donis, et gentem foederibus aliquamdiu Romani honorastis, nunquam dominaturi eius, si non ultimo deliquisset in Christum.

XXVII. Satis haec adversus intentionem laesae religionis ac divinitatis, quo non videamur laedere eam, quam ostendimus non esse. Igitur provocati ad sacrificandum obstruimus gradum pro fide conscientiae nostrae, qua certi sumus, ad quos ista perveniant officia sub imaginum prostitutione et humanorum nominum consecratione. Sed quidam dementiam existimant, quod cum possimus et sacrificare in praesenti, et illaesi abire manente apud animum proposito, obstinationem saluti praeferamus. Datis scilicet consilium, quo vobis abutamur; sed agnoscimus, unde talia suggerantur, quis totum hoc agitet, et quomodo nunc astutia suadendi nunc duritia saeviendi ad constantiam nostram deiiciendam operetur. Ille scilicet spiritus daemoniacae et angelicae paraturae, qui noster ob divortium aemulus et ob dei gratiam invidus, de mentibus vestris adversus nos proeliatur, occulta inspiratione, modulatis et subornatis ad omnem, quam in primordio exorsi sumus, et iudicandi perversitatem et saeviendi iniquitatem. Nam licet subiecta sit nobis tota vis daemonum et eiusmodi spirituum, ut nequam tamen servi metui nonnunquam contumaciam miscent, et laedere gestiunt quos alias verentur: odium enim etiam timor inspirat; praeterquam quod desperata conditio eorum ex praedamnatione solatium reputat fruendae interim malignitatis de poenae mora. Et tamen apprehensi subiguntur et conditioni suae succidunt, et quos de

longinquo oppugnant, de proximo obsecrant. Itaque dum vice rebellantium ergastulorum, sive carcerum, vel metallorum, vel hoc genus poenalis servitutis erumpunt adversus nos, in quorum potestate sunt, certi et impares se esse et hoc magis perditos: ingratis resistimus ut aequales, et repugnamus perseverantes in eo quod oppugnant, et illos nunquam magis detriumphamus, quam quum pro fidei obstinatione damnamur.

XXVIII. Quoniam autem facile iniquum videretur, liberos homines invitos urgeri ad sacrificandum (nam et alias divinae rei faciundae libens animus indicitur): certe ineptum existimaretur, si quis ab alio cogeretur ad honorem deorum, quos ultro sui caussa placare deberet, ne prae manu esset iure libertatis dicere: Nolo mihi Iovem propitium; tu, quis es? me conveniat Ianus iratus ex qua velit fronte; quid tibi mecum est? Formati estis ab iisdem utique spiritibus, ut nos pro salute imperatoris sacrificare cogatis, et imposita est tam vobis necessitas cogendi, quam nobis obligatio periclitandi. Ventum est igitur ad secundum titulum laesae augustioris maiestatis, siquidem maiore formidine et callidiore timiditate Caesarem observatis, quam ipsum de Olympo Iovem, et merito si sciatis. Quis enim ex viventibus non quolibet mortuo tuo potior? Sed nec hoc vos ratione facitis potius quam respectu praesentaneae potestatis, adeo et in isto irreligiosi erga deos vestros deprehendimini, qui plus timoris humano dominio dicatis. Citius denique apud vos per omnes deos, quam per unum genium Caesaris peieratur.

XXIX. Constet igitur prius, si isti, quibus sacrifi-

catur, salutem imperatori vel cuilibet homini impertiri possunt, et ita nos crimini addicite. Si angeli aut daemones, substantia pessimi spiritus, beneficium aliquod operantur, si perditi conservant, si damnati liberant, si denique (quod in conscientia vestra est) mortui vivos tuentur: iam utique suas primo statuas et imagines et aedes tuerentur, quae, opinor Caesarum milites excubiis suis salva praestant. Puto autem, hae ipsae materiae de metallis Caesarum veniunt, et tota templa de nutu Caesaris constant. Multi denique dii habuerunt Caesarem iratum. Facit ad caussam, si et propitium, cum illis aliquid aut liberalitatis aut privilegii confert. Ita qui sunt in Caesaris potestate, cuius et toti sunt, quomodo habebunt salutem Caesaris in potestate, ut eam praestare posse videantur, quam facilius ipsi a Caesare consequantur? Ideo ergo committimus in maiestatem imperatorum, quia illos non subiicimus rebus suis; quia non ludimus de officio salutis eorum, qui eam non putamus in manibus esse plumbatis. Sed vos religiosi, qui eam quaeritis ubi non est, petitis a quibus dari non potest, praeterito eo in cuius est potestate. Insuper eos debellatis, qui eam sciunt petere, qui etiam possunt impetrare, dum sciunt petere.

XXX. Nos enim pro salute imperatorum deum invocamus aeternum, deum verum, deum vivum, quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi praeter ceteros malunt. Sciunt, quis illis dederit imperium; sciunt, qua homines, quis et animam; sentiunt, eum deum esse solum, in cuius solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes deos. Quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui uti-

que vivunt et mortuis antistant. Recogitant, quousque vires imperii sui valeant, et ita deum intelligunt; adversus quem valere non possunt, per eum valere se cognoscunt. Coelum denique debellet imperator, coelum captivum triumpho suo invehat, coelo mittat excubias, coelo vectigalia imponat. Non potest; ideo magnus est, quia coelo minor est. Illius enim est ipse, cuius et coelum est et omnis creatura. Inde est imperator, unde est et homo antequam imperator; inde potestas illi, unde et spiritus. Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus. Precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quaecunque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt. Haec ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo scio me consecuturum, quoniam et ipse est qui solus praestat, et ego sum cui impetrare debetur, famulus eius, qui eum solum observo, qui propter disciplinam eius occidor, qui ei offero opimam et maiorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudica, de anima innocenti, de spiritu sancto profectam. Non grana thuris unius assis, Arabicae arboris lacrimas, nec duas meri guttas, nec sanguinem reprobi bovis mori optantis, et post omnia inquinamenta etiam conscientiam spurcam: ut mirer, cum hostiae probentur penes vos a vitiosissimis sacerdotibus, cur praecordia potius victimarum, quam ipsorum sacrificantium examinentur. Sic itaque nos ad deum expansos ungulae fodiant, cruces suspendant, ignes

lambant, gladii guttura detruncent, bestiae insiliant; paratus est ad omne supplicium ipse habitus orantis Christiani. Hoc agite, boni praesides, extorquete animam deo supplicantem pro imperatore. Hic erit crimen, ubi veritas est dei et devotio.

XXXI. Adulati nunc sumus imperatori, et mentiti vota, quae diximus, ad evadendam scilicet vim. Plane proficit ista fallacia. Admittitis enim nos probare quodcunque defendimus. Qui ergo putaveris, nihil nos de salute Caesarum curare, inspice dei voces, litteras nostras, quas neque ipsi supprimimus et plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scito ex illis, praeceptum esse nobis ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum maiestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste: Orate, inquit, pro regibus, et pro principibus, et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis. Cum enim concutitur imperium, concussis etiam ceteris membris eius, utique et nos, licet extranei a turbis, in aliquo loco casus invenimur.

XXXII. Est et alia maior necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausulam seculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Ita quae nolumus experiri, ea dum precamur differri, Romanae diuturnitati favemus. Sed et iuramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios daemonas dici, et inde diminu-

tiva voce daemonia? Nos iudicium dei suspicimus in imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos praefecit. Id in eis scimus esse, quod deus voluit, ideoque et salvum volumus esse, quod deus voluit, et pro magno id iuramento habemus. Ceterum daemonas, id est genios, adiurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus, non deierare, ut illis honorem divinitatis conferamus.

XXXIII. Sed quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate Christiana in imperatorem? quem necesse est suspiciamus ut eum, quem dominus noster elegerit. Et merito dixerim, noster est magis Caesar, ut a nostro deo constitutus. Itaque et in eo plus ego illi operor in salutem, non solum quod eam ab eo postulo, qui potest praestare, aut quod talis postulo, qui merear impetrare, sed etiam quod temperans maiestatem Caesaris infra deum magis illum commendo deo, cui soli subiicio. Subiicio autem, cui non adaequo. Non enim deum imperatorem dicam, vel quia mentiri nescio, vel quia illum deridere non audeo, vel quia nec ipse se deum volet dici. Si homo sit, interest hominis deo cedere; satis habeat appellari imperator. Grande et hoc nomen est, quod a deo traditur. Negat illum imperatorem, qui deum dicit. Nisi homo sit, non est imperator. Hominem se esse etiam triumphans in illo sublimissimo curru admonetur. Suggeritur enim ei a tergo: respice post te, hominem memento te. Et utique hoc magis gaudet tanta se gloria coruscare, ut illi admonitio conditionis suae sit necessaria. [Minor erat, si tunc deus diceretur, quia non vere diceretur.] Maior est, qui revocatur, ne se deum existimet.

XXXIV. Augustus imperii formator, ne dominum quidem dici se volebat; et hoc enim dei est cognomen. Dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi, sed quando non cogor, ut dominum dei vice dicam. Ceterum liber sum illi; dominus enim meus unus est, deus omnipotens et aeternus, idem qui et ipsius. Qui pater patriae est, quomodo dominus est? Sed est gratius nomen pietatis, quam potestatis; etiam familiae magis patres, quam domini vocantur. Tanto abest, ut imperator deus debeat dici, quod non potest credi non modo turpissima, sed et perniciosa adulatione; tamquam si habens imperatorem, alterum appelles, nonne maximam et inexorabilem offensam contrahes eius, quem habuisti, etiam ipsi timendam, quem appellasti? Esto religiosus in deum, qui vis illum propitium imperatori. Desine alium deum colere vel credere, atque ita et hunc deum dicere, cui deo opus est. Si non de mendacio erubescit adulatio eiusmodi, hominem deum appellans, timeat saltem de infausto. Maledictum est ante apotheosin deum Caesarem nuncupare.

XXXV. Propterea igitur publici hostes Christiani, quia imperatoribus neque vanos neque mentientes neque temerarios honores dicant, quia verae religionis homines etiam sollemnia eorum conscientia potius quam lascivia celebrant. Grande videlicet officium, focos et toros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernae habitu abolefacere, vino lutum cogere, catervatim cursitare ad iniurias, ad impudentias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per dedecus publicum? Haeccine sollemnes dies principum decent, quae alios dies

non decent? Qui observant disciplinam de Caesaris respectu, hi eam propter Caesarem deserent, et malorum morum licentia pietas erit, occasio luxuriae religio deputabitur? O nos merito damnandos! Cur enim vota et gaudia Caesarum casti et sobrii et probi expungimus? cur die laeto non laureis postes obumbramus? nec lucernis diem infringimus? Honesta res est sollemnitate publica exigente induere domui tuae habitum alicuius novi lupanaris. Velim tamen in hac quoque religione secundae maiestatis, de qua in secundum sacrilegium convenimur Christiani, non celebrando vobiscum sollemnia Caesarum, quo more celebrari nec modestia nec verecundia nec pudicitia permittunt, sed occasio voluptatis magis quam digna ratio persuasit, fidem et veritatem vestram demonstrare, ne forte et isthic deteriores Christianis deprehendantur, qui nos nolunt Romanos haberi, sed hostes principum Romanorum. Ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam septem collium plebem convenio, an alicui Caesari suo parcat illa lingua Romana? Testis est Tiberis, et scholae bestiarum. Iam si pectoribus ad translucendum quandam specularem materiam natura obduxisset, cuius non praecordia insculpta apparerent novi ac novi Caesaris scenam congiario dividundo praesidentis? etiam illa hora qua acclamant:

De nostris annis tibi Iupiter augeat annos.

Haec Christianus tam enuntiare non novit, quam de novo Caesare optare. Sed vulgus, inquis. Ut vulgus, tamen Romani, nec ulli magis depostulatores Christianorum, quam vulgus. Plane ceteri ordines pro auctoritate religiosi ex fide; nihil hosticum de

ipso senatu, de equite, de castris, de palatiis ipsis spirat. Unde Cassii, et Nigri et Albini? unde qui inter duas laurus obsident Caesarem? unde qui faucibus eius exprimendis palaestricam exercent? unde qui armati palatium irrumpunt, omnibus Sigeriis atque Partheniis audaciores? De Romanis, nisi fallor, id est de non Christianis. Atque adeo omnes illi sub ipsa usque impietatis eruptione et sacra faciebant pro salute imperatoris, et genium eius deierabant, alii foris, alii intus, et utique publicorum hostium nomen Christianis dabant. Sed et qui nunc scelestarum partium socii aut plausores quotidie revelantur, post vindemiam parricidarum racematio superstes, quam recentissimis et ramosissimis laureis postes praestruebant? quam elatissimis et clarissimis lucernis vestibula enubilabant? quam cultissimis et superbissimis toris forum sibi dividebant? non ut gaudia publica celebrarent, sed ut vota propria iam edicerent, et in aliena sollemnitate exemplum atque imaginem spei suae inaugurarent, nomen principis in corde mutantes. Eadem officia dependunt et qui astrologos et aruspices et auguros et magos de Caesarum capite consultant, quas artes ut ab angelis desertoribus proditas et a deo interdictas ne suis quidem caussis adhibent Christiani. Cui autem opus est perscrutari super Caesaris salute, nisi a quo aliquid adversus illam cogitatur vel optatur, aut post illam speratur et sustinetur? Non enim ea mente de caris consulitur, qua de dominis. Aliter curiosa est sollicitudo sanguinis, aliter servitutis.

XXXVI. Si haec ita sunt, ut hostes deprehendantur, qui Romani vocabantur, cur nos, qui hostes ex-

istimamur, Romani negamur? non possumus et Romani esse, et hostes non esse, cum hostes reperiantur qui Romani habebantur? Adeo pietas et religio et fides imperatoribus dedita non in huiusmodi officiis consistit, quibus et hostilitas magis ad velamentum sui potest fungi, sed in iis moribus, quibus civilitas in imperatorem tam vere, quam circa omnes necesse habet exhiberi. Neque enim haec opera bonae mentis solis imperatoribus debentur a nobis. Nullum bonum sub exceptione personarum administramus, quia nobis praestamus, qui non ab homine aut laudis, aut praemii expensum captamus, sed a deo exactore et remuneratore indifferentis benignitatis. Iidem sumus imperatoribus, qui et vicinis nostris. Male enim velle, male facere, male dicere, male cogitare de quoquam ex aequo vetamur. Quodcunque non licet in imperatorem, id nec in quemquam, quod in neminem, eo forsitan magis nec in ipsum, qui per deum tantus est.

XXXVII. Si inimicos, ut supra diximus, iubemur diligere, quem habemus odisse? Item si laesi vicem referre prohibemur, ne de facto pares simus, quem possumus laedere? Nam de isto ipsi recognoscite. Quoties enim in Christianos desaevitis, partim animis propriis, partim legibus obsequentes? Quoties etiam praeteritis vobis suo iure nos inimicum vulgus invadit lapidibus et incendiis? Ipsis Bacchanalium furiis nec mortuis parcunt Christianis, quin illos de requie sepulturae, de asylo quodam mortis, iam alios, iam nec totos avellant, dissecent, distrahant. Quid tamen unquam denotastis de tam conspiratis, de tam animatis ad mortem usque pro iniuria repensatum,

quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largiter ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret? Sed absit, ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pati, in quo probatur. Si enim hostes exsertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri et Marcomanni ipsique Parthi, vel quantaecunque unius tamen loci et suorum finium gentes, quam totius orbis. Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis reliquimus templa. Possumus dinumerare exercitus vestros: unius provinciae plures erunt. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere? Potuimus et inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a vobis, suffudisset [pudore] utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium, imo etiam et ipsa destitutione punisset. Procul dubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum et stuporem quendam quasi mortui orbis; quaesissetis quibus imperaretis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent. Nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine Christianorum, paene omnium civitatum paene omnes cives Christianos habendo. Sed hostes maluistis vocare generis humani. Quis autem vos ab illis occultis et usquequaque vastantibus mentes et valetudines vestras ho-

stibus raperet? a daemoniorum incursibus dico, quae de vobis sine praemio, sine mercede depellimus. Sufficisset hoc solum nostrae ultioni, quod vacua exinde possessio immundis spiritibus pateretis. Porro nec tanti praesidii compensationem cogitantes, non modo non molestum vobis genus, verum etiam necessarium, hostes iudicare maluistis: qui sumus plane, non generis humani tamen, sed potius erroris.

XXXVIII. Proinde, nec paulo lenius, inter licitas factiones sectam istam deputari oportebat, a qua nihil tale committitur, quale de illicitis factionibus timeri solet. Nisi fallor enim, prohibendarum factionum caussa de providentia constat modestiae publicae, ne civitas in partes scinderetur, quae res facile comitia, concilia, curias, conciones, spectacula etiam aemulis studiorum compulsationibus inquietaret, cum iam et in quaestu habere coepissent venalem et mercenariam homines violentiae suae operam. At enim nobis ab omni gloriae et dignitatis ardore frigentibus nulla est necessitas coetus, nec ulla magis res aliena, quam publica. Unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus, mundum. Aeque spectaculis vestris in tantum renuntiamus, in quantum originibus eorum, quas scimus de superstitione conceptas, cum et ipsis rebus, de quibus transiguntur, praetersumus. Nihil est nobis dictu, visu, auditu cum insania circi, cum impudicitia theatri, cum atrocitate arenae, cum vanitate xysti. Licuit Epicureis aliquam decernere voluptatis veritatem. Quo vos offendimus, si alias praesumimus voluptates? Si oblectari novisse nolumus, nostra iniuria est, si forte, non vestra. Sed reprobamus quae placent vobis, nec vos nostra delectant.

XXXIX. Edam iam nunc ego ipsa negotia Christianae factionis, ut qui mala refutaverim, bona ostendam. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinae divinitate et spei foedere. Coimus in coetum et congregationem, ut ad deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus. Haec vis deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Cogimur ad litterarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus; ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura divina. Nam et iudicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de dei conspectu, summumque futuri iudicii praeiudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Praesident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti: neque enim pretio ulla res dei constat. Etiam si quod arcae genus est, non de honoraria summa, quasi redemptae religionis congregatur; modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit et si modo possit, apponit: nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. Haec quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde non epulis, nec potaculis, nec ingratis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, iamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis, vel in custo-

diis, duntaxat ex caussa dei sectae, alumni confessionis suae fiunt. Sed eiusmodi vel maxime dilectionis operatio notam nobis inurit penes quosdam. "Vide," inquiunt, "ut invicem se diligant:" ipsi enim invicem oderunt; "et ut pro alterutro mori sint parati:" ipsi enim ad occidendum alterutrum paratiores erunt. Sed et quod fratrum appellatione censemur, non alias, opinor, infamant, quam quod apud ipsos omne sanguinis nomen de affectatione simulatum est. Fratres autem etiam vestri sumus, iure naturae matris unius, etsi vos parum homines, quia mali fratres. At quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur, qui unum patrem deum agnoverunt, qui unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae eiusdem ad unam lucem expaverunt veritatis. Sed eo fortasse minus legitimi existimamur, quia nulla de nostra fraternitate tragoedia exclamat, vel quia ex substantia familiari fratres sumus, quae penes vos fere dirimit fraternitatem. Itaque qui animo animaque miscemur, nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus. Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos, praeter uxores: in isto loco consortium solvimus, in quo solo ceteri homines consortium exercent, qui non amicorum solummodo matrimonia usurpant, sed et sua amicis patientissime subministrant, ex illa, credo, maiorum et sapientissimorum disciplina, Graeci Socratis et Romani Catonis, qui uxores suas amicis communicaverunt, quas in matrimonium duxerant liberorum caussa et alibi creandorum, nescio quidem an invitas; quid enim de castitate curarent, quam mariti tam facile donaverant? O sapientiae Atticae, o Romanae gravitatis exemplum! Leno est philosophus et censor. Quid

ergo mirum, si tanta caritas convivatur? Nam et coenulas nostras, praeterquam sceleris infames, ut prodigas quoque suggillatis. De nobis scilicet Diogenis dictum est: "Megarenses obsonant quasi crastina die morituri, aedificant vero quasi nunquam morituri." Sed stipulam quis in alieno oculo facilius perspicit, quam in suo trabem. Tot tribubus et curiis et decuriis ructantibus acescit aër. Saliis coenaturis creditor erit necessarius. Herculanarum decimarum et polluctorum sumptus tabularii supputabant; Apaturiis, Dionysiis, mysteriis Atticis coquorum delectus indicentur. Ad fumum coenae Serapiacae sparteoli excitabuntur. De solo triclinio Christianorum retractatur. Coena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit; id vocatur, quod dilectio penes Graecos est. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum, siquidem inopes quosque refrigerio isto iuvamus, non qua penes vos parasiti affectant ad gloriam famulandae libertatis sub auctoramento ventris inter contumelias saginandi, sed qua penes deum maior est contemplatio mediocrium. Si honesta caussa est convivii, reliquum ordinem disciplinae aestimate, qui sit, de religionis officio: nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestiae admittit; non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad deum praegustetur; editur quantum esurientes capiunt; bibitur quantum pudicis est utile. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum deum sibi esse; ita fabulantur, ut qui sciant dominum audire. Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium deo canere; hinc probatur

quomodo biberit. Aeque oratio convivium dirimit. Inde disceditur non in catervas caesionum, neque in classes discursationum, nec in eruptiones lasciviarum, sed ad eandem curam modestiae et pudicitiae, ut qui non tam coenam coenaverint, quam disciplinam. Haec coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par, merito damnanda, [si non dissimilis damnandis,] si quis de ea queritur eo titulo, quo de factionibus querela est. In cuius perniciem aliquando convenimus? Hoc sumus congregati, quod et dispersi, hoc universi, quod et singuli, neminem laedentes, neminem contristantes. Quum probi, quum boni coeunt, quum pii, quum casti congregantur, non est factio dicenda, sed curia.

XL. At e contrario illis nomen factionis accommodandum est, qui in odium bonorum et proborum conspirant, qui adversum sanguinem innocentium conclamant, praetexentes sane ad odii defensionem illam quoque vanitatem, quod existiment omnis publicae cladis, omnis popularis incommodi Christianos esse in caussa. Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si coelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim "Christianos ad leonem." Tantos ad unum? Oro vos, ante Tiberium, id est ante Christi adventum, quantae clades orbem et urbem ceciderunt? Legimus Hieran, Anaphen et Delon et Rhodon et Co insulas multis cum millibus hominum pessum abiisse. Memorat et Plato maiorem Asiae et Africae terram Atlantico mari ereptam. Sed et mare Corinthium terrae motus ebibit, et vis undarum Lucaniam Italiae abscissam in Siciliae nomen relegavit. Haec utique non sine iniuria incolentium ac-

cidere potuerunt. Ubi vero tunc, non dicam deorum vestrorum contemptores Christiani, sed ipsi dii vestri, cum totum orbem cataclysmus abolevit, vel ut Plato putavit, campestre solummodo? Posteriores enim illos clade diluvii contestantur ipsae urbes, in quibus nati mortuique sunt, etiam quas condiderunt; neque enim alias in hodiernum manerent, nisi et ipsae postumae cladis illius. Nondum Iudaeum ab Aegypto examen Palaestina susceperat, nec iam illic Christianae sectae origo consederat, quum regiones affines eius Sodoma et Gomorra igneus imber exussit. Olet adhuc incendio terra, et si qua illic arborum poma conantur, oculis tenus, ceterum contacta cinerescunt. Sed nec Tuscia iam tunc atque Campania de Christianis querebatur, quum Volsinios de coelo, Pompeios de suo monte perfudit ignis. Nemo adhuc Romae deum verum adorabat, cum Annibal apud Cannas Romanos annulos, caedes suas, modio metiebatur. Omnes dii vestri ab omnibus colebantur, cum ipsum Capitolium Senones occupaverunt. Et bene, quod si quid adversi accidit urbibus, eaedem clades templorum quae et moenium fuerunt, ut iam hoc revincam, non a deis evenire, quia et ipsis evenit. Semper humana gens male de deo meruit: primo quidem ut inofficiosa eius, quem cum intelligeret ex parte, non solum non requisivit timendum, sed et alios sibi citius commenta est quos coleret; dehinc quod non inquirendo innocentiae magistrum, et nocentiae iudicem et exactorem, omnibus vitiis et criminibus inolevit. Ceterum si requisisset, [sequeretur, ut] cognosceret et recognosceret requisitum, et recognitum observaret, et observatum magis propitium experiretur quam

iratum. Eundem ergo nunc quoque scire debet iratum, quem et retro semper, priusquam Christiani nominarentur. Cuius bonis utebatur ante editis, quam deos sibi fingeret, cur non ab eo etiam mala intelligat evenire, cuius bona esse non sensit? Illius rea est, cuius et ingrata. Et tamen si pristinas clades comparemus, leviora nunc accidunt, ex quo Christianos a deo orbis accepit. Ex eo enim et innocentia seculi iniquitates temperavit, et deprecatores dei esse coeperunt. Denique cum ab imbribus aestiva hiberna suspendunt et annus in cura est, vos quidem, quotidie pasti statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponis et lupanaribus operati, aquilicia Iovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis, coelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis, aversi ab ipso et deo et coelo. Nos vero ieiuniis aridi et omni continentia expressi, ab omni vitae fruge dilati, in sacco et cinere volutantes, invidia coelum tundimus, deum tangimus, et cum misericordiam extorserimus, Iupiter honoratur a vobis, Deus negligitur.

XLI. Vos igitur importuni rebus humanis, vos rei publicorum incommodorum, vos malorum illices semper, apud quos deus spernitur, statuae adorantur. Utique enim credibilius haberi debet, eum irasci qui negligatur, quam qui coluntur: aut nae illi iniquissimi, si propter Christianos etiam cultores suos laedunt, quos separare deberent a meritis Christianorum. Hoc, inquitis, et in deum vestrum repercutere est, qui et ipse patiatur propter profanos etiam cultores suos laedi. Admittite prius dispositiones eius, et non retorquebitis. Qui enim semel aeternum iudicium destinavit post seculi finem, non praecipitat discre-

tionem, quae est conditio iudicii, ante seculi finem. Aequalis est interim super omne hominum genus et indulgens et increpans; communia voluit esse et commoda profanis et incommoda suis, ut pari consortio omnes et lenitatem eius et severitatem experiremur. Quia haec ita didicimus apud ipsum, diligimus lenitatem, metuimus severitatem, vos contra utramque despicitis: et sequitur, ut omnes seculi plagae nobis, si forte, in admonitionem, vobis in castigationem, a deo obveniant. Atquin nos nullo modo laedimur: inprimis quia nihil nostra refert in hoc aevo, nisi de eo quam celeriter excedere; dehinc quia si quid adversi infligitur, vestris id meritis deputatur. Sed etsi aliqua nos quoque perstringunt ut vobis cohaerentes, laetamur magis recognitione divinarum praedicationum, confirmantium scilicet fiduciam et fidem spei nostrae. Si vero ab eis quos colitis omnia vobis mala eveniunt nostri caussa, quid colere perseveratis tam ingratos, tam iniustos, qui magis vos in dolorem Christianorum iuvare et asserere debuerant?

XLII. Sed alio quoque iniuriarum titulo postulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. Quo pacto homines vobiscum degentes, eiusdem victus, habitus, instructus, eiusdem ad vitam necessitatis? Neque enim Brachmanae aut Indorum gymnosophistae sumus, silvicolae et exules vitae. Meminimus gratiam nos debere deo domino creatori; nullum fructum operum eius repudiamus; plane temperamus, ne ultra modum aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, tabernis, officinis, stabulis, nundinis vestris, ceterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc seculo. Navigamus et nos

vobiscum et militamus, et rusticamur, et mercamur, proinde miscemus artes, operas nostras publicamus usui vestro. Quomodo infructuosi videamur negotiis vestris, cum quibus et de quibus vivimus, non scio. Sed si ceremonias tuas non frequento; attamen et illa die homo sum. Non lavo sub noctem Saturnalibus, ne et noctem et diem perdam; attamen lavo et debita hora et salubri, quae mihi et calorem et sanguinem servet; rigere et pallere post lavacrum mortuus possum. Non in publico Liberalibus discumbo, quod bestiariis supremam coenantibus mos est; attamen ubi de copiis tuis coeno. Non emo capiti coronam. Quid tua interest, emptis nihilominus floribus quomodo utar? puto gratius [esse] liberis et solutis et undique vagis; sed etsi in coronam coactis, nos coronam naribus novimus, viderint qui per capillum odorantur. Spectaculis non convenimus; quae tamen apud illos coetus venditantur si desideravero, libentius de suis locis sumam. Thura plane non emimus; si Arabiae queruntur, scient Sabaei pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis. Certe, inquitis, templorum vectigalia quotidie decoquunt, stipes quotusquisque iam iactat. Non [enim] sufficimus et hominibus et diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre, nec putamus aliis quam petentibus impertiendum. Denique porrigat manum Iupiter et accipiat, cum interim plus nostra misericordia insumit vicatim, quam vestra religio templatim. Sed cetera vectigalia gratias Christianis agent ex fide dependentibus debitum, qua alieno fraudando abstinemus, ut, si ineatur quantum publico pereat fraude et mendacio vestrarum profes-

sionum, facile ratio haberi possit, unius speciei querela compensata pro commodo ceterarum rationum.

XLIII. Plane confitebor, quinam, si forte, vere de sterilitate Christianorum conqueri possint. Primi erunt lenones, perductores, aquarioli, tum sicarii, venenarii, magi, item hariolí, haruspices, mathematici. His infructuosos esse magnus fructus est. Et tamen quodcunque dispendium est rei vestrae per hanc sectam, cum aliquo utique praesidio compensari potest. Quanti habetis, non dico qui iam de vobis daemonia excutiant, non dico iam qui pro vobis quoque vero deo preces sternant, quia forte non creditis, sed a quibus nihil timere possitis.

XLIV. At enim illud detrimentum reipublicae tam grande quam verum nemo circumspicit, illam iniuriam civitatis nullus expendit, quum tot iusti impendimur, quum tot innocentes erogamur. Vestros enim iam contestamur actus, qui quotidie iudicandis custodiis praesidetis, qui sententiis elogia dispungitis. Tot a vobis nocentes variis criminum elogiis recensentur; quis illic sicarius, quis manticularius, quis sacrilegus, aut corruptor, aut lavantium praedo, idem etiam Christianus adscribitur? aut cum Christiani suo titulo offeruntur, quis ex illis etiam talis, quales tot nocentes? De vestris semper aestuat carcer, de vestris semper metalla suspirant, de vestris semper bestiae saginantur, de vestris semper munerarii noxiorum greges pascunt. Nemo illic Christianus, nisi hoc tantum, aut si et aliud, iam non Christianus.

XLV. Nos ergo soli innocentes. Quid mirum, si necesse est? Enimvero necesse est. Innocentiam a deo edocti, et perfecte eam novimus ut a perfecto

magistro revelatam et fideliter custodimus, ut ab incontemptibili dispectore mandatam. Vobis autem humana aestimatio innocentiam tradidit, humana item dominatio imperavit; inde nec plenae nec adeo timendae estis disciplinae ad innocentiae veritatem. Quanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum quid vere bonum? quanta auctoritas ad exigendum? tam illa falli facilis, quam ista contemni. Atque adeo quid plenius dictum est: non occides, an vero: ne irascaris quidem? Quid perfectius prohibere adulterium, an etiam ab oculorum solitaria concupiscentia arcere? Quid eruditius de maleficio, an et de maleloquio interdicere? Quid instructius, iniuriam non permittere, an nec vicem iniuriae sinere? dum tamen sciatis ipsas quoque leges vestras, quae videntur ad innocentiam pergere, de divina lege ut antiquiore formam mutuatas. Diximus iam de Mosis aetate. Sed quanta auctoritas legum humanarum, quum illas et evadere homini contingat, et plerumque in admissis delitescere, et aliquando contemnere ex voluntate vel necessitate delinquendi, recogitata etiam brevitate suplicii cuiuslibet, non tamen ultra mortem remansuri? Sic et Epicurus omnem cruciatum doloremque depretiat, modicum quidem contemptibilem pronuntiando, magnum vero non diuturnum. Enimvero nos qui sub deo omnium speculatore dispungimur, quique aeternam ab eo poenam providemus, merito soli innocentiae occurrimus, et pro scientiae plenitudine, et pro latebrarum difficultate, et pro magnitudine cruciatus non diuturni, verum sempiterni, eum timentes, quem timere debebit et ipse qui timentes iudicat, deum, non proconsulem timentes.

XLVI. Constitimus, ut opinor, adversus omnium criminum intentionem, quae Christianorum sanguinem flagitat. Ostendimus totum statum nostrum, et quibus modis probare possimus ita esse, sicut ostendimus, ex fide scilicet et antiquitate divinarum litterarum, item ex confessione spiritualium potestatum. Quis nos revincere audebit, non arte verborum, sed eadem forma, qua probationem constituimus de veritate? Sed dum unicuique manifestatur veritas nostra, interim incredulitas, dum de bono sectae huius obducitur, quod usui iam et de commercio innotuit, non utique divinum negotium existimat, sed magis philosophiae genus. Eadem, inquit, et philosophi monent et profitentur, innocentiam, iustitiam, patientiam, sobrietatem, pudicitiam. Cur ergo quibus comparamur de disciplina, proinde illis non adaequamur ad licentiam impunitatemque disciplinae? vel cur et illi ut pares nostri non urgentur ad officia, quae nos non obeuntes periclitamur? Quis enim philosophum sacrificare, aut deierare, aut lucernas meridie vanas prostituere compellit? Quin imo et deos vestros palam destruunt, et superstitiones vestras commentariis quoque accusant, laudantibus vobis. Plerique etiam in principes latrant, sustinentibus vobis. Et facilius statuis et salariis remunerantur, quam ad bestias pronuntiantur. Sed merito; philosophi enim non Christiani cognominantur. Nomen hoc philosophorum daemonia non fugat. Quidni, quum secundum deos philosophi daemonas deputent? Socratis vox est: si daemonium permittat. Idem et quum aliquid de veritate sapiebat, deos negans, Aesculapio tamen gallinaceum prosecari iam in fine iubebat, credo ob hono-

rem patris eius, quia Socratem Apollo sapientissimum omnium cecinit. O Apollinem inconsideratum! Sapientiae testimonium reddidit ei viro, qui negabat deos esse. In quantum odium flagrat veritas, in tantum qui eam ex fide praestat offendit; qui autem adulterat et affectat, hoc maxime nomine gratiam pangit apud insectatores veritatis, [qua et illusores et contemtores]. Mimice philosophi affectant veritatem et affectando corrumpunt, ut qui gloriam captant: Christiani eam necessario appetunt et integre praestant, ut qui saluti suae curant. Adeo neque de scientia neque de disciplina, ut putatis, aequamur. Quid enim Thales ille princeps physicorum sciscitanti Croeso de divinitate certum renuntiavit, commeatus deliberandi saepe frustratus? Deum quilibet opifex Christianus et invenit et ostendit et exinde totum, quod in deo quaeritur, re quoque assignat; licet Plato affirmet factitatorem universitatis neque inveniri facilem et inventum enarrari in omnes difficilem. Ceterum si de pudicitia provocemus, lego partem sententiae Atticae in Socratem corruptorem adolescentium pronuntiatam. Sexum nec femineum mutat Christianus. Novi et Phrynen meretricem Diogenis supra recubantis ardori subantem. Audio et quendam Speusippum de Platonis schola in adulterio perisse. Christianus uxori suae soli masculus nascitur. Democritus excaecando semetipsum, quod mulieres sine concupiscentia aspicere non posset, et doleret, si non esset potitus, incontinentiam emendatione profitetur. At Christianus salvis oculis feminam videt, animo adversus libidinem caecus est. Si de probitate defendam, ecce lutulentis pedibus Diogenes su-

perbos Platonis toros alia superbia deculcat: Christianus nec in pauperem superbit. Si de modestia certem, ecce Pythagoras apud Thurios, Zeno apud Prienenses tyrannidem affectant: Christianus vero nec aedilitatem. Si de animi aequitate congrediar, Lycurgus ἀποκαρτέρησιν optavit, quod leges eius Lacones emendassent: Christianus etiam damnatus gratias agit. Si de fide comparem, Anaxagoras depositum hospitibus denegavit: Christianus etiam extra fidelis vocatur. Si de simplicitate consistam, Aristoteles familiarem suum Hermiam turpiter loco excedere fecit: Christianus nec inimicum suum laedit. Idem Aristoteles tam turpiter Alexandro regendo potius adulatur, quam Plato Dionysio ventris gratia venditatur. Aristippus in purpura sub magna gravitatis superficie nepotatur, et Hippias, dum civitati insidias disponit, occiditur. Hoc pro suis omni atrocitate dissipatis nemo unquam Christianus tentavit. Sed dicet aliquis, etiam de nostris excedere quosdam a regula disciplinae; desinunt tum Christiani haberi penes nos, philosophi vero illi cum talibus factis in nomine et in honore sapientiae perseverant apud vos. Quid adeo simile philosophus et Christianus, Graeciae discipulus et coeli, famae negotiator et salutis, verborum et factorum operator, rerum aedificator et destructor, interpolator erroris et integrator veritatis, furator eius et custos.

XLVII. Adhuc enim mihi proficit antiquitas praestructa divinae litteraturae, quo facile credatur thesaurum eam fuisse posteriori cuique sapientiae. Et si non onus iam voluminis temperarem, etiam excurrerem in hanc quoque probationem. Quis poëtarum,

quis sophistarum, qui non de prophetarum fonte potaverit? Inde igitur philosophi sitim ingenii sui rigaverunt; nam quia quaedam de nostris habent, ea propter nos comparant illis. Inde, opinor, et a quibusdam philosophia legibus quoque eiecta est, a Thebanis dico, a Spartiatis et Argivis. Dum ad nostra conantur et homines gloriae, ut diximus, et eloquentiae solius libidinosi, si quid in sanctis offenderunt digestis, exinde regestum pro instituto curiositatis ad propria verterunt, neque satis credentes divina esse, quo minus interpolarent, neque satis intelligentes, ut adhuc tunc subnubila, etiam ipsis Iudaeis obumbrata, quorum propria videbantur. Nam et si qua simplicitas erat veritatis, eo magis scrupulositas humana fidem aspernata nutabat, per quod in incertum miscuerunt etiam quod invenerant certum. Inventum enim solummodo deum non ut invenerant disputaverunt, ut de qualitate et de natura eius et de sede disceptent. Alii incorporalem asseverant, alii corporalem, qua Platonici, qua et Stoici; alii ex atomis; alii ex numeris, qua Epicurus et Pythagoras, alii ex igne, qua Heraclito visum est; et Platonici quidem curantem rerum; contra Epicurei otiosum et inexercitum, et ut ita dixerim, neminem humanis rebus; positum vero extra mundum Stoici, qui figuli modo extrinsecus torqueat molem hanc, intra mundum Platonici, qui gubernatoris exemplo intra illud maneat, quod regat. Si et de ipso mundo natus innatusve sit, decessurus mansurusve sit, variant; sic et de animae statu, quam alii divinam et aeternam, alii dissolubilem contendunt: ut quis sensit, ita et intulit aut reformavit. Nec mirum, si vetus instrumentum in-

genia philosophorum interverterunt. Ex horum semine et nostram hanc novitiolam paraturam viri quidam suis opinionibus ad philosophicas sententias adulteraverunt, et de una via obliquos multos tramites et inexplicabiles sciderunt. Quod ideo suggesserim, ne cui nota varietas sectae huius in hoc quoque nos philosophis adaequare videatur, et ex varietate defensionum iudicet veritatem. Expedite autem praescribimus adulteris nostris, illam esse regulam veritatis, quae veniat a Christo, transmissa per comites ipsius, quibus aliquanto posteriores diversi isti commentatores probabuntur. Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt, operantibus aemulationem istam spiritibus erroris. Ab his adulteria huiusmodi salutaris disciplinae subornata; ab his quaedam etiam fabulae immissae, quae de similitudine fidem infirmarent veritatis, vel eam sibi potius evinceret, ut quis ideo non putet Christianis credendum, quia nec poëtis, nec philosophis, vel ideo magis poëtis et philosophis existimet credendum, quia non Christianis. Itaque et ridemur deum praedicantes iudicaturum. Sic enim et poëtae et philosophi tribunal apud inferos ponunt. Si gehennam comminemur, quae est ignis arcani subterraneus ad poenam thesaurus proinde decachinnamur. Sic enim et Pyriphlegethon apud mortuos amnis est. Et si paradisum nominemus, locum divinae amoenitatis recipiendis sanctorum spiritibus destinatum, maceria quadam igneae illius zonae a notitia orbis communis segregatum, Elysii campi fidem occupaverunt. Unde haec, oro vos, philosophis aut poëtis tam consimilia? non nisi de nostris sacramentis: si de nostris sacramentis, ut de

prioribus, ergo fideliora sunt nostra, magisque credenda, quorum imagines quoque fidem inveniunt; si de suis sensibus, iam ergo sacramenta nostra imagines posteriorum habebuntur, quod rerum forma non sustinet; nunquam enim corpus umbra aut veritatem imago praecedit.

XLVIII. Age iam, si quis philosophus affirmet, ut ait Laberius de sententia Pythagorae, hominem fieri ex mulo, colubram ex muliere, et in eam opinionem omnia argumenta eloquii virtute detorserit, nonne consensum movebit et fidem infiget etiam ab animalibus abstinendi? proptereaque persuasum quis hoc habeat, ne forte bubulam de aliquo proavo suo obsonet. At enim Christianus, si de homine hominem ipsumque de Caio Caium reducem repromittat, [statim illic vesica queritur;] lapidibus magis, nec saltem coetibus a populo exigetur? Quasi non, quaecunque ratio praeest animarum humanarum in corpora reciprocandarum, ipsa exigat illas in eadem corpora revocari; quia hoc sit revocari, esse quod fuerant. Nam si non id sunt, quod fuerant, id est, humanum et id ipsum corpus indutae, iam non ipsae erunt, quae fuerant. Porro quae iam non erunt ipsae, quomodo redisse dicentur? Aut aliud factae non erunt ipsae, aut manentes ipsae non erunt aliunde. Multis etiam iocis et otio opus erit, si velimus ad hanc partem lascivire, quis in quam bestiam reformari videretur. Sed de nostra magis defensione (qui proponimus, multo utique dignius credi, hominem ex homine rediturum, quemlibet pro quolibet, dum hominem, ut eadem qualitas animae in eandem restauretur conditionem, etsi non effigiem, certe quia

ratio restitutionis destinatio iudicii est) necessario idem ipse qui fuerat exhibebitur, ut boni seu contrarii meriti iudicium a deo referat. Ideoque repraesentabuntur et corpora, quia neque pati quicquam potest anima sola sine stabili materia, id est carne; et quod omnino de iudicio dei pati debent animae, non sine carne meruerunt, intra quam omnia egerunt. Sed quomodo, inquis, dissoluta materia exhiberi potest? Considera temetipsum, o homo, et fidem rei invenies. Recogita quid fueris, antequam esses: utique nihil; meminisses enim, si quid fuisses. Qui ergo nihil fueras, priusquam esses, idem nihil factus quum esse desieris; cur non possis esse rursus de nihilo eiusdem ipsius auctoris voluntate, qui te voluit esse de nihilo? Quid novi tibi eveniet? qui non eras, factus es; quum iterum non eris, fies. Redde si potes rationem, qua factus es, et tunc require, qua fies. Et tamen facilius utique fies, quod fuisti aliquando, quia aeque non difficile factus es, quod nunquam fuisti aliquando. Dubitabitur, credo, de dei viribus, qui tantum corpus hoc mundi de eo quod non fuerat, non minus quam de morte vacationis et inanitatis composuit animatum spiritu omnium animarum animatore, signatum et per ipsum humanae resurrectionis exemplum in testimonium vobis. Lux quotidie interfecta resplendet, et tenebrae pari vice decedendo succedunt, sidera defuncta reviviscunt, tempora ubi finiuntur, incipiunt, fructus consumuntur et redeunt; certe semina non nisi corrupta et dissoluta fecundius surgunt, omnia pereundo servantur, omnia de interitu reformantur. Tu homo, tantum nomen, si intelligas te, vel de titulo Pythiae di-

scens, dominus omnium morientium et resurgentium, ad hoc morieris, ut pereas? Ubicunque resolutus fueris, quaecunque te materia destruxerit, hauserit, aboleverit, in nihilum prodegerit, reddet te. Eius est nihilum ipsum, cuius et totum. Ergo, inquitis, semper moriendum erit, et semper resurgendum. Si ita rerum dominus destinasset, ingratis experireris conditionis tuae legem. At nunc non aliter destinavit, quam praedicavit. Quae ratio universitatem ex diversitate composuit, ut omnia ex aemulis substantiis sub unitate constarent ex vacuo et solido, ex animali et inanimali, ex comprehensibili et incomprehensibili, ex luce et tenebris, ex ipsa vita et morte: eadem aevum quoque ita destinata ac distincta conditione conseruit, ut prima haec pars ab exordio rerum, quam incolimus, temporali aetate ad finem defluat, sequens vero, quam expectamus, in infinitam aeternitatem propagetur. Quum ergo finis et limes medius, qui interhiat, affuerit, ut etiam mundi ipsius species transferatur aeque temporalis, quae illi dispositioni aeternitatis aulaei vice oppansa est: tunc restituetur omne humanum genus ad expungendum, quod in isto aevo boni seu mali meruit, et exin dependendum in immensam aeternitatis perpetuitatem. Ideoque nec mors iam, nec rursus ac rursus resurrectio, sed erimus iidem qui nunc, nec alii post: dei quidem cultores apud deum semper, superinduti substantia propria aeternitatis; profani vero et qui non integri ad deum, in poena aeque iugis ignis, habentis ex ipsa natura eius divinam scilicet subministrationem incorruptibilitatis. Noverunt et philosophi diversitatem arcani et publici ignis. Ita longe alius

est qui usui humano, alius qui iudicio dei apparet, sive de coelo fulmina stringens, sive de terra per vertices montium eructans; non enim absumit, quod exurit, sed dum erogat, reparat. Adeo manent montes semper ardentes, et qui de coelo tangitur, salvus est, ut nullo iam igni decinerescat. Et hoc erit testimonium ignis aeterni, hoc exemplum iugis iudicii poenam nutrientis: montes uruntur et durant. Quid nocentes et dei hostes?

XLIX. Haec sunt, quae in nobis solis praesumptiones vocantur, in philosophis et poëtis summae scientiae et insignia ingenia. Illi prudentes, nos inepti, illi honorandi, nos irridendi, imo eo amplius et puniendi. Falsa nunc sint quae tuemur, et merito praesumptiones, attamen necessaria; inepta, attamen utilia; si quidem meliores fieri coguntur, qui eis credunt metu aeterni supplicii et spe aeterni refrigerii. Itaque non expedit falsa dici, nec inepta haberi, quae expedit vera praesumi. Nullo titulo damnari licet omnino quae prosunt. In vobis itaque praesumptio est haec ipsa, quae damnat utilia. Proinde nec inepta esse possunt, certe etsi falsa et inepta, nulli tamen noxia; nam et multis aliis similia, quibus nullas poenas irrogatis, vanis et fabulosis, inaccusatis et impunitis, ut innoxiis. Sed in eiusmodi errores, si utique, irrisu iudicandum est, non gladiis et ignibus, et crucibus, et bestiis; de qua iniquitate saevitiae non modo caecum hoc vulgus exsultat et insultat, sed et quidam vestrum, quibus favor vulgi de iniquitate captatur, gloriantur, quasi non totum, quod in nos potestis, nostrum sit arbitrium. Certe, si velim, Christianus sum: tunc ergo me damnabis, si damnari ve-

lim; quum vero quod in me potes, nisi velim, non potes; iam meae voluntatis est quod potes, non tuae potestatis. Proinde et vulgus vane de nostra vexatione gaudet; proinde enim nostrum est gaudium, quod sibi vindicat, qui malumus damnari, quam a deo excidere; contra illi qui nos oderunt, dolere non gaudere debebant, consecutis nobis quod elegimus.

L. Ergo, inquitis, cur querimini, quod vos insequamur, si pati vultis, cum diligere debeatis, per quos patimini quod vultis? Plane volumus pati, verum eo more, quo et bellum nemo quidem libens patitur, cum et trepidare et periclitari sit necesse; tamen et proeliatur omnibus viribus, et vincens in proelio gaudet, qui de proelio querebatur, quia et gloriam consequitur et praedam. Proelium est nobis, quod provocamur ad tribunalia, ut illic sub discrimine capitis pro veritate certemus. Victoria est autem, pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victoria habet et gloriam placendi deo et praedam vivendi in aeternum. Sed obducimur; certe cum obtinuimus: ergo vicimus, cum occidimur; denique evadimus, cum obducimur. Licet nunc sarmenticios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum ambitu exurimur. Hic est habitus victoriae nostrae, haec palmata vestis; tali curru triumphamus. Merito itaque victis non placemus; propterea enim desperati et perditi existimamur. Sed haec desperatio et perditio penes vos in caussa gloriae et famae vexillum virtutis extollunt. Mucius dextram suam libens in ara reliquit: o sublimitas animi. Empedocles totum sese Catanensium Aetnaeis incendiis donavit: o vigor mentis! Aliqua Carthaginis condi-

trix rogo secundum matrimonium dedit: o praeconium castitatis! Regulus, ne unus pro multis hostibus viveret, toto corpore cruces patitur: o virum fortem et in captivitate victorem? Anaxarchus, quum in exemplum ptisanae pilo contunderetur, tunde, tunde, aiebat, Anaxarchi follem, Anaxarchum enim non tundis: o philosophi magnanimitatem, qui de tali suo exitu etiam iocabatur! Omitto eos qui cum gladio proprio aliove genere mortis mitiore de laude pepigerunt. Ecce enim et tormentorum certamina coronantur a vobis. Attica meretrix, carnifice iam fatigato, postremo linguam suam comestam in faciem tyranni saevientis exspuit, ut exspueret et vocem, ne coniuratos confiteri posset, si etiam victa voluisset. Zeno Eleates consultus a Dionysio, quidnam philosophia praestaret, quum respondisset, contemptum mortis, flagellis tyranni subiectus sententiam suam ad mortem usque signabat. Certe Laconum flagella, sub oculis etiam hortantium propinquorum acerbata, tantum honorem tolerantiae domui conferunt, quantum sanguinis fuderint. O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec praesumptio perdita nec persuasio desperata deputatur in contemptu mortis et atrocitatis omnimodae, cui tantum pro patria, pro agro, pro imperio, pro amicitia pati permissum est, quantum pro deo non licet! Et tamen illis omnibus et statuas defunditis et imagines inscribitis et titulos inciditis in aeternitatem; quantum de monumentis potestis scilicet, praestatis et ipsi quodammodo mortuis resurrectionem. Hanc qui veram a deo sperat, si pro deo patiatur, insanus est. Sed hoc agite, boni praesides, meliores multo apud populum, si illis Christia-

nos immolaveritis. Cruciate, torquete, damnate, atterite nos. Probatio est enim innocentiae nostrae iniquitas vestra. Ideo nos haec pati deus patitur. Nam et proxime ad lenonem damnando Christianam potius, quam ad leonem, confessi estis labem pudicitiae apud nos atrociorem omni poena et omni morte reputari. Nec quicquam tamen proficit exquisitior quaeque crudelitas vestra, illecebra est magis sectae. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum. Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in Fortuitis, ut Diogenes, ut Pyrrhon, ut Callinicus. Nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos, quantos Christiani factis docendo. Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione eius concutitur ad requirendum, quid intus in re sit? quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit? ubi accessit, pati exoptat, ut totam dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam ab eo compensatione sanguinis sui expediat? omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur. Inde est, quod ibidem sententiis vestris gratias agimus; ut est aemulatio divinae rei et humanae, cum damnamur a vobis, a deo absolvimur.

AD SCAPULAM.

I. Nos quidem neque expavescimus neque pertimescimus ea, quae ab ignorantibus patimur; cum ad hanc sectam utique suscepta conditione eius pacti venerimus, ut etiam animas nostras auctorati in has pugnas accedamus, ea quae deus repromittit consequi optantes, et ea quae diversae vitae comminatur pati timentes. Denique cum omni saevitia vestra concertamus, etiam ultro erumpentes, magisque damnati quam absoluti gaudemus. Itaque hunc libellum non nobis timentes misimus, sed vobis et omnibus inimicis nostris, nedum amicis; ita enim disciplina iubemur diligere inimicos quoque, et orare pro iis qui nos persequuntur, ut haec sit perfecta et propria bonitas nostra, non communis. Amicos enim diligere omnium est, inimicos autem solorum Christianorum. Qui ergo dolemus de ignorantia vestra, et miseremur erroris humani, et futura prospicimus et signa eorum quotidie intentari videmus, necesse est vel hoc modo erumpere ad proponenda vobis ea, quae palam non vultis audire.

II. Nos unum deum colimus, quem omnes naturaliter nostis, ad cuius fulgura et tonitrua contremiscitis, ad cuius beneficia gaudetis. Ceteros et ipsi putatis deos esse, quos nos daemonas scimus. Tamen humani iuris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique,

quod putaverit, colere, nec alii obest aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quae sponte suscipi debeat, non vi; cum et hostiae ab animo libenti expostulentur. Ita etsi nos compuleritis ad sacrificandum, nihil praestabitis diis vestris; ab invitis enim sacrificia non desiderabunt, nisi si contentiosi sunt; contentiosus autem deus non est. Denique qui est verus, omnia sua ex aequo et profanis et suis praestat, ideoque et iudicium constituit aeternum de gratis et ingratis. Tamen nos, quos sacrilegos existimatis, nec in furto unquam deprehendistis, nedum in sacrilegio. Omnes autem, qui templa despoliant et per deos iurant et eosdem colunt, et Christiani non sunt et sacrilegi tamen deprehenduntur. Longum est, si retexamus, quibus aliis modis et derideantur et contemnantur omnes dii ab ipsis cultoribus suis. Sic et circa maiestatem imperatoris infamamur; tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani; sed iidem ipsi, qui per genios eorum in pridie usque iuraverant, qui pro salute eorum hostias et fecerant et voverant, qui Christianos saepe damnaverant, hostes eorum sunt reperti. Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum imperatoris, quem sciens a deo suo constitui, necesse est ut et ipsum diligat et revereatur et honoret et salvum velit cum toto Romano imperio, quousque seculum stabit; tamdiu enim stabit. Colimus ergo et imperatorem sic, quomodo et nobis licet et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a deo secundum et, quicquid est a deo consecutum, solo deo minorem. Hoc et ipse volet. Sic enim omnibus maior est, dum solo vero deo minor est; sic et ipsis diis maior est, dum

et ipsi in potestate sunt eius. Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo praecepit deus, pura prece. Non enim eget deus, conditor universitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicuius. Haec enim daemoniorum pabula sunt. Daemones autem non tantum respuimus, verum et revincimus et quotidie traducimus et de hominibus expellimus, sicut plurimis notum est. Ita nos magis oramus pro salute imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes, qui praestare potest. Et utique ex disciplina patientiae divinae agere nos, satis manifestum esse vobis potest; cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars paene maior civitatis cuiusque, in silentio et modestia agimus, singuli forte noti magis, quam omnes, nec aliunde noscibiles, quam de emendatione vitiorum pristinorum. Absit enim, ut indigne feramus ea nos pati, quae optamus, aut ultionem a nobis aliquam machinemur, quam a deo exspectamus.

III. Tamen [sicut supra diximus] doleamus necesse est, quod nulla civitas impune latura sit sanguinis nostri effusionem; sicut et sub Hilariano praeside, cum de areis sepulturarum nostrarum acclamassent: areae non sint, areae ipsorum non fuerunt, messes enim suas non egerunt. Ceterum et imbre anni praeteriti, quid commeruerit genus humanum, apparuit (cataclysmum scilicet et retro fuisse propter incredulitates et iniquitates hominum), et ignes, qui super moenia Carthaginis proxime pependerunt per noctem, quid minati sint, sciunt qui viderunt, et pristina tonitrua quid sonaverint, sciunt qui obduruerunt. Omnia haec signa sunt imminentis irae dei, quam necesse est, quoquomodo possumus, ut et annuntiemus

et praedicemus et deprecemur interim localem esse. Universalem enim et supremam suo tempore sentient, qui exempla eius aliter interpretantur. Nam et sol ille in conventu Uticensi, extincto paene lumine, adeo portentum fuit, ut non potuerit ex ordinario deliquio hoc pati, positus in suo hypsomate et domicilio. Habetis astrologos. Possumus aeque et exitus quorundam praesidum tibi proponere, qui in fine vitae suae recordati sunt deliquisse, quod vexassent Christianos. Vigellius Saturninus qui primus hic gladium in nos egit lumina amisit. Claudius Lucius Herminianus in Cappadocia, cum indigne ferens uxorem suam ad hanc sectam transisse, Christianos crudeliter tractasset, solusque in praetorio suo vastatus peste [cum] vivus vermibus ebullisset: Nemo sciat, aiebat, ne gaudeant Christiani. Postea cognito errore suo, quod tormentis quosdam a proposito suo excidere fecisset, paene Christianus decessit. Caecilius Capella, in illo exitu Byzantino: Christiani gaudete! exclamavit. Sed et qui videntur sibi impune tulisse, venient in diem divini iudicii. Tibi quoque optamus admonitionem solam fuisse, quod cum Adrumeticum Mavilum ad bestias damnasses, et statim haec vexatio subsecuta est, et nunc ex eadem caussa interpellatio sanguinis. Sed memento de cetero.

IV. Non te terremus, qui nec timemus; sed velim, ut omnes salvos facere possimus, monendo *μὴ θεομαχεῖν*. Potes et officio iurisdictionis tuae fungi et humanitatis meminisse, vel quia et vos sub gladio estis. Quid enim amplius tibi mandatur, quam nocentes confessos damnare, negantes autem ad tormenta revocare? Videtis ergo, quomodo ipsi vos

contra mandata faciatis, ut confessos negare cogatis. Adeo confitemini innocentes esse nos, quos damnare statim ex confessione non vultis. Si autem contenditis ad elidendos nos, iam ergo innocentiam expugnatis. Quanti autem praesides et constantiores et crudeliores dissimulaverunt ab huiusmodi caussis? ut Cincius Severus, qui Thistri ipse dedit remedium, quomodo responderent Christiani, ut dimitti possent; ut Vespronius Candidus, qui Christianum quasi tumultuosum civibus suis satisfacere dimisit; ut Asper, qui modice vexatum hominem et statim deiectum nec sacrificium compulit facere, ante professus inter advocatos et assessores, dolere se incidisse in hanc caussam. Pudens etiam missum ad se Christianum in elogio concussione eius intellecta dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem secundum mandatum. Haec omnia tibi et de officio suggeri possunt, et ab iisdem advocatis, qui ipsi beneficia habent Christianorum, licet acclament quae volunt. Nam et cuiusdam notarius, cum a daemone praecipitaretur, liberatus est, et quorundam propinquus et puerulus, et quanti honesti viri (de vulgaribus enim non dicimus) aut a daemoniis aut valetudinibus remediati sunt? Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculum Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodae procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem eius; quem et Antoninus optime noverat lacte Christiano educatus. Sed et clarissimas feminas et clarissimos viros Severus, sciens huius sectae esse, non modo non laesit, verum et testimonio exor-

navit et populo furenti in nos palam restitit. Marcus quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione, Christianorum militum orationibus ad deum factis, imbres in siti illa impetravit. Quando non geniculationibus et ieiunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsae? Tunc et populus acclamans: deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit. Praeter haec depositum non abnegamus, matrimonium nullius adulteramus, pupillos pie tractamus, indigentibus refrigeramus, nulli malum pro malo reddimus. Viderint, qui sectam mentiuntur, quos et ipsi recusamus. Quis denique de nobis alio nomine queritur? Quod aliud negotium patitur Christianus, nisi suae sectae? quam incestam, quam crudelem tanto tempore nemo probavit. Pro tanta innocentia, pro tanta probitate, pro iustitia, pro pudicitia, pro fide, pro veritate, pro deo vivo cremamur; quod nec sacrilegi, nec hostes publici, verum nec tot maiestatis rei pati solent. Nam et nunc a praeside Legionis et a praeside Mauritaniae vexatur hoc nomen, sed gladio tenus, sicut et a primordio mandatum est animadverti in huiusmodi. Sed maiora certamina maiora sequuntur praemia.

V. Crudelitas vestra gloria est nostra. Vide tantum, ne hoc ipso, quod talia sustinemus, ad hoc solum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos haec non timere, sed ultro vocare. Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur instanter, omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia eius se manu facta obtulerunt; tum ille, paucis duci iussis, reliquis ait, ὦ δειλοὶ, εἰ θέλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, κρημνοὺς ἢ βρόχους ἔχετε. Hoc si placuerit et hic fieri, quid facies de

tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac feminis, omnis sexus, omnis aetatis, omnis dignitatis, offerentibus se tibi? Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit? Quid ipsa Carthago passura est, decimanda a te, cum propinquos, cum contubernales suos illic unusquisque cognoverit, cum viderit illic fortasse et tui ordinis viros et matronas et principales quasque personas et amicorum tuorum vel propinquos vel amicos? Parce ergo tibi, si non nobis; parce Carthagini, si non tibi; parce provinciae, quae visa intentione tua obnoxia facta est concussionibus et militum et inimicorum suorum cuiusque. Magistrum neminem habemus, nisi deum solum. Hic ante te est, nec abscondi potest, sed cui nihil facere possis. Ceterum quos putas tibi magistros, homines sunt et ipsi morituri quandoque. Nec tamen deficiet haec secta, quam tunc magis aedificari scias, cum caedi videtur. Quisque enim tantam tolerantiam spectans, ut aliquo scrupulo percussus, et inquirere accenditur, quid sit in caussa, et ubi cognoverit veritatem, et ipse statim sequitur.

DE SPECTACULIS.

I. Qui status fidei, quae ratio veritatis, quod praescriptum disciplinae inter cetera secularium errorum etiam spectaculorum voluptates adimat, dei servi, cognoscite, qui cum maxime ad deum acceditis; recognoscite, qui iam accessisse vos testificati et confessi estis, ne aut ignorando aut dissimulando quis peccet. Tanta est enim vis voluptatum, ut et ignorantiam protelet in occasionem et conscientiam corrumpat in dissimulationem. Ad utrumque adhuc forsan alicui opiniones ethnicorum blandiuntur, qui in ista caussa adversus nos ita argumentari consueverunt: Nihil obstrepere religioni in animo et conscientia tanta solatia extrinsecus oculorum vel aurium, nec vero deum offendi oblectatione hominis, qua salvo erga deum metu et honore suo in tempore et suo in loco frui scelus non sit. Atquin hoc cum maxime paramus demonstrare, quemadmodum isthaec non competant verae religioni et vero obsequio erga deum verum. Sunt qui existiment Christianos, expeditum morti genus, ad hanc obstinationem abdicatione voluptatum erudiri, quo facilius vitam contemnant amputatis quasi retinaculis eius, ne desiderent, quam iam supervacuam sibi fecerint: ut hoc consilio potius et humano prospectu, non divino praescripto definitum existimetur. Pigebat scilicet etiam perseverantes in

tantis voluptatibus propter deum mori: quamquam, etsi ita esset, tam apto consilio, tantae obstinatio disciplinae debebat obsequium.

II. Iam vero nemo est, qui non hoc quoque praetendat, omnia a deo instituta et homini attributa, sicut praedicamus, et utique bona omnia ut boni auctoris: inter haec deputari universa ista, ex quibus spectacula instruuntur, circum verbi gratia et leonem et vires corporis et vocis suavitates. Igitur neque alienum videri posse neque inimicum dei, quod de conditione constet ipsius, neque cultoribus dei deputandum, quod dei non sit inimicum, quia nec alienum. Plane et ipsae exstructiones locorum, quod saxa, quod caementa, quod marmora, quod columnae, dei res sunt, qui ea ad instrumentum terrae dedit; sed et ipsi actus sub coelo dei transiguntur. Quam sapiens argumentatrix sibi videtur ignorantia humana, praesertim cum aliquid eiusmodi de gaudiis et de fructibus seculi metuit amittere. Plures denique invenias, quos magis periculum voluptatis, quam vitae, avocet ab hac secta. Nam mortem etiam stultus ut debitam non extimescit, voluptatem etiam sapiens ut tantam non contemnit, cum alia non sit et stulto et sapienti vitae gratia, nisi voluptas. Nemo negat, quia nemo ignorat quod ultro natura suggerit, deum esse universitatis conditorem, eamque universitatem tam bonam, quam homini mancipatam. Sed quia non penitus deum norunt, nisi naturali iure, non etiam familiari, de longinquo, non de proximo: necesse est ignorent, qualiter administrari aut iubeat aut prohibeat quae instituit, simul quis sit aemulus ex diverso, adulterandis usibus divinae conditionis, quia ne-

que voluntatem neque adversarium noveris eius, quem minus noveris. Non ergo hoc solum respiciendum est, a quo omnia sint instituta, sed a quo conversa. Ita enim apparebit, cuius vi sint instituta, si appareat, cuius non sint. Multum interest inter corruptelam et integritatem, quia multum est inter institutorem et interpolatorem. Ceterum omnes species malorum, quae etiam ethnici indubitate et prohibent et defendunt, ex operibus dei constant. Vis homicidium ferro, veneno, magicis devinctionibus perfici: tam ferrum dei res est, quam herbae, quam angeli. Numquid tamen in hominis necem auctor ista providit? Atquin omnem homicidii speciem uno et principali praecepto interemit: Non occides. Proinde aurum, aes, argentum, ebur, lignum, et quaecunque fabricandis idolis materia captatur, quis in seculo posuit, nisi seculi auctor deus? Numquid tamen ut haec adversus ipsum adorentur? Atquin summa offensa penes illum idololatria est. Quid non dei est, quod deum offendit? sed cum offendit, dei esse desiit, et cum desiit, offendit. Ipse homo, omnium flagitiorum actor, non tantum opus dei, verum etiam imago est: et tamen et corpore et spiritu descivit a suo institutore. Neque enim oculos ad concupiscentias sumsimus, neque linguam ad maliloquium, et aures ad exceptaculum maliloquii, et gulam ad gulae crimen, et ventrem ad gulae satietatem, et genitalia ad excessus impudicitiae, et manus ad vim, et gressus ad vagam vitam; aut spiritus ideo insitus corpori, ut insidiarum et fraudum et iniquitatum cogitatorium fieret? non opinor. Nam si omnem malignitatem et si tantam malitiam excogitatam

deus exactor innocentiae odit, indubitate, quaecunque condidit, non in exitum operum constat condidisse quae damnat, licet eadem opera per ea quae condidit administrentur, quando haec sit tota ratio damnationis, perversa administratio conditionis a conditis. Nos igitur, qui deo cognito etiam aemulum eius inspeximus, qui institutore comperto etiam interpolatorem una deprehendimus, neque mirari neque dubitare oportet, quum ipsum hominem, opus et imaginem dei, totius universitatis possessorem, illa vis interpolatoris et aemulatoris angeli ab initio de integritate deiecerit, quin universam substantiam eius, pariter cum ipso integritati institutam, pariter cum ipso in perversitatem demutarit adversus institutorem: ut quam doluerat homini concessam, non sibi, in ea ipsa et hominem reum deo faceret, et suam dominationem collocaret.

III. Hac conscientia instructi adversus opinionem ethnicorum, convertamur magis ad nostrorum retractatus. Quorundam enim fides aut simplicior aut scrupulosior ad hanc abdicationem spectaculorum de scripturis auctoritatem exposcit, et se in incertum constituit, quod non significanter neque nominatim denuntietur servis dei abstinentia eiusmodi. Plane nusquam invenimus, quemadmodum aperte positum est: Non occides, non idolum coles, non adulterium, non fraudem admittes. Ita exserte definitum: Non in circum ibis, non in theatrum; agonem, munus non spectabis. Sed invenimus ad hanc quoque speciem pertinere illam primam vocem David, Felix, inquit, qui non abiit in concilium impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestium non sedit.

Nam etsi iustum illum videtur praedicasse, quod in concilio et in consessu Iudaeorum de deo denegando consultantium non communicavit; late tamen semper scriptura divina dividitur, ubicunque secundum praesentis rei sensum etiam disciplina munitur, ut hic quoque non sit aliena vox a spectaculorum interdictione. Si enim pauculos tunc Iudaeos impiorum concilium vocavit, quanto magis tantum conventum ethnici populi? impii ethnici minus peccatores, minus hostes Christi, quam tunc Iudaei? Quo et cetera congruunt. Nam apud spectacula et in via statur; vias enim vocant cardines balteorum per ambitum, et discrimina popularium per proclivum; cathedra quoque nominatur ipse in anfractu ad consessum situs. Itaque e contrario infelix qui in quodcunque concilium impiorum abierit, et in quacunque via peccatorum steterit, et in quacunque cathedra pestium sederit. Generaliter dictum intelligamus, cum quid etiam specialiter interpretari capit. Nam et specialiter quaedam pronuntiata, generaliter sapiunt. Cum deus Israelitas admonet disciplinae vel obiurgat, utique ad omnes habet: cum Aegypto et Aethiopiae exitium comminatur, in omnem gentem peccatricem praeiudicat. Sic omnis gens peccatrix vocatur Aegyptus et Aethiopia, a specie ad genus. Quemadmodum etiam de origine spectaculorum omne spectaculum concilium vocat impiorum, a genere ad speciem.

IV. Ne quis argumentari nos putet, ad principalem auctoritatem convertar ipsius signaculi nostri. Cum aquam ingressi Christianam fidem in legis suae verba profitemur, renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompae

et angelis eius ore nostro contestamur. Quid erit summum ac praecipuum, in quo diabolus et pompae et angeli eius censeantur, quam idololatria? ex qua omnis immundus et nequam spiritus, ut ita dixerim, quia nec diutius de hoc. Igitur si ex idololatria universam spectaculorum paraturam constare constiterit, indubitate praeiudicatum erit etiam ad spectacula pertinere renuntiationis nostrae testimonium in lavacro, quae diabolo et pompae et angelis eius sint mancipata, scilicet per idololatriam. Commemorabimus origines singulorum, quibus in cunabulis in seculo adoleverint: exinde titulos quorundam, quibus nominibus nuncupentur, exinde apparatus, quibus superstitionibus instruantur: tum loca, quibus Praesidibus dicentur: tum artes, quibus auctoribus deputentur. Si quid ex his non ad idolum pertinuerit, id neque ad idololatriam, neque ad nostram eierationem pertinebit.

V. De originibus quidem ut secretioribus et ignotis penes plures nostrorum altius nec aliunde investigandum fuit, quam de instrumentis ethnicarum literarum. Exstant auctores multi, qui super ista re commentarios ediderunt. Ab his ludorum origo sic traditur. Lydos ex Asia transvenas in Hetruria consedisse, ut Timaeus refert, duce Tyrrheno, qui fratri suo cesserat regni contentione. Igitur in Hetruria inter ceteros ritus superstitionum suarum spectacula quoque religionis nomine instituunt. Inde Romani accersitos artifices mutuantur, tempus, enuntiationem, ut ludi a Lydis vocarentur. Sed etsi Varro ludos a ludo, id est a lusu interpretatur, sicut et Lupercos ludos appellabant, quod ludendo discurrant: tamen

eum lusum iuvenum et diebus festis et templis et religionibus reputat. Nihil iam de caussa vocabuli, cum rei caussa idololatria sit. Nam et cum promiscue ludi Liberalia vocarentur, honorem Liberi patris manifeste sonabant. Libero enim a rusticis primo fiebant ob beneficium quod ei adscribunt pro demonstrata gratia vini. Exinde ludi Consualia dicti, qui initio Neptunum honorabant. Eundem enim et Consum vocabant. Dehinc Equiria Marti Romulus dixit; quamquam et Consualia Romulo defendunt, quod ea Conso dicaverit deo, ut volunt, consilii, eius scilicet, quo tunc Sabinarum virginum rapinam militibus suis in matrimonia excogitavit. Probum plane consilium et nunc quoque apud ipsos Romanos iustum et licitum, ne dixerim, penes deum. Facit etenim ad originis maculam, ne bonum existimes, quod initium a malo accepit, ab impudenti, a violenti, ab alio deo, a fratricida institutore, a filio Martis: et nunc ara Conso illi in circo defossa est ad primas metas sub terra, cum inscriptione huiusmodi: CONSUS CONSILIO MARS DUELLO LARES COMITIO POTENTES. Sacrificant apud eam nonis Iuliis sacerdotes publici, XII. Kalend. Septembres flamen Quirinalis et virgines. Dehinc idem Romulus Iovi Feretrio ludos instituit in Tarpeio, quos Tarpeios dictos et Capitolinos Piso tradidit; post hunc Numa Pompilius Marti et Robigini [fecit] (nam et Robiginis deam finxerunt); dehinc Tullus Hostilius, dehinc Ancus Martius et ceteri, qui quotque per ordinem et quibus idolis ludos instituerint, positum est apud Suetonium Tranquillum, vel a quibus Tranquillus accepit. Sed haec satis erunt ad originis de idololatria reatum.

VI. Accedit ad testimonium antiquitatis subsecuta posteritas, formam originis de titulis huius quoque temporis praeferens, per quos signatum est, cui idolo et cui superstitioni utriusque generis ludi notarentur. Megalenses et Apollinares, item Cereales et Neptunales et Latiares et Florales in commune celebrantur; reliqui ludorum de natalibus et sollemnitatibus regum et publicis prosperitatibus et municipalibus fastis superstitiosis caussas originis habent. Inter quos etiam privatorum memoriis legatariae editiones parentant; id quoque secundum institutionis antiquitatem. Nam et a primordio bifariam ludi censebantur, sacri et funebres, id est diis nationum et mortuis. Sed de idololatria nihil differt apud nos, sub quo nomine et titulo, dum ad eosdem spiritus perveniat, quibus renuntiamus, licet mortuis, licet diis suis faciant. Proinde mortuis suis ut diis faciant: una conditio partis utriusque est, una idololatria, una renuntiatio nostra adversus idololatriam.

VII. Communis igitur origo ludorum utriusque generis, communes et tituli, ut de communibus caussis, proinde apparatus communes habeant necesse est de reatu generali idololatriae conditricis suae. Sed circensium paulo pompatior suggestus, quibus proprie hoc nomen pompa: praecedit, quorum sit in semetipsa probans de simulacrorum serie, de imaginum agmine, de curribus, de thensis, de armamaxis, de sedibus, de coronis, de exuviis. Quanta praeterea sacra, quanta sacrificia praecedant, intercedant, succedant, quot collegia, quot sacerdotia, quot officia moveantur, sciunt homines illius urbis, in qua daemoniorum conventus consedit. Ea si minore cura

per provincias pro minoribus viribus administrantur, tamen omnes ubique circenses illuc deputandi, unde et petuntur, inde inquinantur, unde sumuntur. Nam et rivulus tenuis éx suo fonte et surculus modicus ex sua fronde qualitatem originis continet. Viderit ambitio sive frugalitas eius, quod deum offendit qualiscunque pompa circi: etsi pauca simulacra circumferat, in uno idololatria est; etsi unam thensam trahat, Iovis tamen plaustrum est; quaevis idololatria sordide instructa vel modice locuples, splendida est censu criminis sui.

VIII. Ut et de locis, secundum propositum exsequar, circus Soli principaliter consecratur: cuius aedes medio spatio et effigies de fastigio aedis emicat, quod non putaverunt sub tecto consecrandum, quem in aperto habent. Quod spectaculum primum a Circe [habent]. Soli patri suo, ut volunt, editum affirmant: ab ea et circi appellationem argumentantur. Plane venefica eis utique negotium gessit hoc nomine quorum sacerdos erat, daemoniis et angelis scilicet. Quot igitur in habitu loci ipsius idololatrias recognoscis? singula ornamenta circi singula templa sunt. Ova honori Castorum adscribunt, qui illos ovo editos credendo de cygno Iove non erubescunt. Delphinos Neptuno vovent, columnas Sesias a sementationibus, Messias a messibus, Tutelinas a tutelis fructuum sustinent: ante has tres arae trinis diis parent, magnis, potentibus, valentibus. Eosdem Samothracas existimant. Obelisci enormitas, ut Hermateles affirmat, Soli prostituta: scriptura eius unde et census, de Aegypto superstitio est. Frigebat daemonum concilium sine sua matre magna; ea itaque illic praesidet eu-

ripo. Consus, ut diximus, apud metas sub terra delitescit. Murtias quoque idolum fecit; Murtiam enim deam amoris volunt, cui in illa parte aedem vovere. Animadverte Christiane, quot nomina immunda possederint circum. Aliena est tibi religio, quam tot diaboli spiritus occupaverunt, de locis quidem locus est retractandi ad praeveniendam quorundam interrogationem. Quid enim, inquis, si alio in tempore circum adiero, periclitabor de inquinamento? Nulla est praescriptio de locis. Nam non sola ista conciliabula spectaculorum, sed etiam templa ipsa sine periculo disciplinae adire servus dei potest, urgente caussa simplici duntaxat, quae non pertineat ad proprium eius loci negotium vel officium. Ceterum et plateae et forum et balneae et stabula et ipsae domus nostrae sine idolis omnino non sunt; totum seculum satanas et angeli eius repleverunt. Non tamen quod in seculo sumus, a deo excidimus, sed si quid de seculi criminibus attigerimus. Proinde si Capitolium, si Serapeum sacrificator et adorator intravero, a deo excidam: quemadmodum circum vel theatrum spectator. Loca nos non contaminant per se, sed quae in locis fiunt, a quibus et ipsa loca contaminari altercati sumus: de contaminatis contaminamur. Propterea autem commemoramus, quibus eiusmodi loca dicentur, ut eorum demonstremus esse, quae in his locis fiunt, quibus ipsa loca dicantur.

IX. Nunc de artificio quo Circenses exhibentur. Res equestris retro simplex de dorso agebatur, et utique communis usus reus non erat. Sed cum ad ludos coactus est, transiit a dei munere ad daemoniorum officia. Itaque Castori et Polluci deputatur

haec species, quibus equos a Mercurio distributos Stesichorus docet. Sed et Neptunus equestris est, quem Graeci ἵππιον appellant. De iugo vero quadrigas soli, bigas lunae sanxerunt. Sed et

Primus Erichthonius currus et quatuor ausus
Iungere equos rapidusque rotis insistere victor.

Erichthonius, Minervae et Vulcani filius, et quidem de caduca in terram libidine, portentum est daemonicum, imo diabolus ipse, non coluber. Si vero Trochilus Argivus auctor est currus: patriae Iunoni id opus suum dedicavit. Si Romae Romulus quadrigam primus ostendit: puto, et ipse inter idola conscriptus est, si idem est Quirinus. Talibus auctoribus quadrigae productae, merito et aurigas coloribus idololatriae vestierunt, et ab initio duo soli fuerunt, albus et russeus. Albus hiemi ob nives candidas, russeus aestati ob solis ruborem voti erant. Sed postea, tam voluptate quam superstitione provecta, russeum alii Marti, alii album Zephyris consecraverunt, prasinum vero Terrae matri vel verno, venetum Coelo et Mari vel autumno. Cum autem omnis species idololatriae damnata sit a deo, utique etiam illa damnatur, quae elementis mundialibus profanatur.

X. Transeamus ad scenicas res, quarum et originem communem et titulos pares secundum ipsam ab initio ludorum appellationem et administrationem coniunctam cum re equestri iam ostendimus. Apparatus etiam ex ea parte consortes, quae ad scenam spectat: nam a templis et aris, et illa infelicitate thuris et sanguinis inter tibias et tubas itur, duobus inquinatissimis arbitris, funerum et sacrorum desig-

natore et haruspice. Ita cum de originibus ludorum ad circenses transimus, inde nunc ad scenicos ludos dirigimus. A loci initio theatrum proprie sacrarium Veneris est. Hoc denique modo id genus operis in seculo evasit. Nam saepe censores renascentia cum maxime theatra destruebant, moribus consulentes, quorum scilicet periculum ingens de lascivia providebant, ut iam hinc ethnicis in testimonium cedat sententia ipsorum nobiscum faciens, et nobis in exaggerationem disciplinae etiam humanae praerogativa. Itaque Pompeius Magnus solo theatro suo minor, cum illam arcem omnium turpitudinum exstruxisset, veritus quandoque memoriae suae censoriam animadversionem, Veneris aedem superposuit, et ad dedicationem edicto populum vocans, non theatrum, sed Veneris templum nuncupavit, cui subiecimus, inquit, gradus spectaculorum. Ita damnatum et damnandum opus templi titulo praetexuit, et disciplinam superstitione delusit. Sed Veneri et Libero convenit. Duo ista daemonia conspirata et coniurata inter se sunt ebrietatis et libidinis. Itaque theatrum Veneris Liberi quoque domus est. Nam et alios ludos scenicos Liberalia proprie vocabant, praeterquam Libero devotos, quod sunt Dionysia penes Graecos, etiam a Libero institutos. Et est plane in artibus quoque scenicis Liberi et Veneris patrocinium. Quae enim privata et propria sunt scenae, de gestu et corporis flexu mollitiam Veneri et Libero immolant, illi per sexum, illi per flexum dissoluti. Quae vero voce et modis et organis et lyris transiguntur, Apollines et Musas et Minervas et Mercurios mancipes habent. Oderis, Christiane, quorum auctores non potes non

odisse. Iam nunc volumus suggerere de artibus, et de his, quorum auctores in nominibus exsecramur. Scimus nihil esse nomina mortuorum, sicut nec ipsa simulacra eorum: sed non ignoramus, qui sub istis nominibus et institutis simulacris operentur et gaudeant et divinitatem mentiantur, nequam spiritus scilicet daemones. Videmus igitur etiam artes eorum honoribus dicatas esse, qui nomina incolunt auctorum earum, nec ab idololatria vacare, quarum institutores etiam propterea dii habentur. Imo quod ad artes pertinet, altius praescripsisse debemus, daemonas, ab initio prospicientes sibi inter cetera idololatriae etiam spectaculorum inquinamenta, quibus hominem a deo avocarent et suo honori obligarent, eiusmodi quoque artium ingenia inspirasse. Neque enim ab aliis praeoccupatum fuisset, quod ad illos perventurum esset. Nec per alios tunc homines edidissent, quam per ipsos, in quorum nominibus et imaginibus et historiis fallaciam consecrationis sibi negotium acturae constituerant.

XI. Ut ordo peragatur, ineamus etiam agonum retractatum. Origo istis de ludorum propinquitate est. Inde et ipsi sacri vel funebres instituti aut diis nationum aut mortuis fiunt: proinde [tituli:] Olympia Iovi, quae sunt Romae Capitolina, item Herculi Nemea, Neptuno Isthmia, ceteri mortuorum varii agones. Quid ergo mirum, si apparatus agonum idololatria conspurcat de coronis profanis, de sacerdotalibus praesidibus, de collegiariis ministris, de ipso postremo boum sanguine? Ut de loco suppleam, et de loco communi pro collegio artium Musicarum et Minervalium et Apollinarium, etiam Martialium per

duellum, per tubam in stadio circum aemulantur, quod utique templum est et ipsum eius idoli, cuius sollemnitates agit. Sed et gymnicas artes Castorum et Herculum et Mercuriorum disciplinae prodiderunt.

XII. Superest illius insignissimi spectaculi atque acceptissimi recognitio. Munus dictum est ab officio, quoniam officium etiam muneris nomen est. Officium autem mortuis hoc spectaculo facere se veteres arbitrabantur, posteaquam illud humaniore atrocitate temperaverunt. Nam olim quoniam animas defunctorum humano sanguine propitiari creditum erat, captivos vel malo ingenio servos mercati in exsequiis immolabant. Postea placuit impietatem voluptate adumbrare. Itaque quos paraverant armis, quibus tunc et qualiter poterant eruditos, tantum ut occidi discerent, mox edicto die inferiarum apud tumulos erogabant. Ita mortem homicidiis consolabantur. Haec muneris origo, sed paulatim provecti ad tantam gratiam, ad quantam et crudelitatem, quia ferrum voluptati satis non faciebat, nisi et feris humana corpora dissiparentur. Quod ergo mortuis litabatur, utique parentationi deputabatur. Quae species proinde idololatria est, quoniam et idololatria parentationis est species. Tam haec quam illa mortuis ministrat. In mortuorum autem idolis daemonia consistunt, ut et titulos consideremus; licet transierit hoc genus editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium, quaesturas dico et magistratus, et flaminia et sacerdotia: cum tamen nominis dignitas idololatriae crimine teneatur, necesse est, quidquid dignitatis nomine administratur, communicet etiam maculas eius, a qua habet caussas. Idem

de apparatibus interpretabimur in ipsorum honorum suggestu deputandis, quod purpurae, quod fasciae, quod vittae, quod coronae, quod denique conciones et edicta, et pultes pridianae sine pompa diaboli, sine invitatione daemonum non sunt. Quid ergo de horrido loco perorem, quem nec periuria sustinent? pluribus enim et asperioribus numinibus amphitheatrum consecratur, quam Capitolium: omnium daemonum templum est. Tot illic immundi spiritus considunt, quot homines capit. Ut et de artibus concludam, Martem et Dianam utriusque ludi praesides novimus.

XIII. Satis, opinor, implevimus ordinem, quot et quibus modis spectacula idololatriam committant, de originibus, de titulis, de apparatibus, de locis, de sacrificiis: quo certi sumus, nulla ex parte competere nobis ea, qui bis idolis renunciavimus: non quod idolum sit aliquid, ut apostolus ait, sed quod quae faciunt, daemoniis faciunt, consistentibus scilicet in consecrationibus idolorum sive mortuorum, sive, ut putant, deorum. Propterea igitur, quoniam utraque species idolorum conditionis unius est, dum mortui et dii unum sunt, utraque idololatria abstinemus, nec minus templa quam monumenta despuimus; neutram aram novimus, neutram effigiem adoramus, non sacrificamus, non parentamus, sed neque de sacrificato et parentato edimus, quia non possumus coenam dei edere et coenam daemoniorum. Si ergo gulam et ventrem ab inquinamentis liberamus, quanto magis augustiora nostra, oculos et aures, ab idolothytis et necrothytis voluptatibus abstinemus, quae non intestinis transiguntur, sed in ipso spiritu et anima di-

geruntur, quorum munditia magis ad deum pertinet, quam intestinorum.

XIV. Nunc interposito nomine idololatriae, quod solum subiectum sufficere deberet ad abdicationem spectaculorum, alia iam ratione tractemus ex abundanti: propter eos maxime qui sibi blandiuntur, quod non nominatim abstinentia ista praescripta sit, quasi parum etiam de spectaculis pronuntietur, cum concupiscentiae seculi damnantur. Nam sicut pecuniae vel dignitatis vel gulae vel libidinis vel gloriae, ita et voluptatis concupiscentia est; species autem voluptatis etiam spectacula. Opinor, generaliter nominatae concupiscentiae continent in se et voluptates; aeque generaliter intellectae voluptates specialiter et in spectacula disseruntur. Ceterum retulimus supra de locorum conditione, quod non per semetipsa nos inquinent, sed per ea quae illic geruntur, per quae simul inquinamentum combiberint, tunc et in alteros respuunt.

XV. Viderit ergo, ut diximus, principalis titulus idololatriae, reliquas ipsarum rerum qualitates contra dei omnes feramus. Deus praecepit spiritum sanctum, utpote pro naturae suae bono, tenerum et delicatum tranquillitate et lenitate et quiete et pace tractare, non furore, non bile, non ira, non dolore inquietare. Huic quomodo cum spectaculis poterit convenire? Omne enim spectaculum sine concussione spiritus non est. Ubi enim voluptas, ibi et studium, per quod scilicet voluptas sapit; ubi studium, ibi et aemulatio, per quam studium sapit. Porro et ubi aemulatio, ibi et furor et bilis et ira et dolor et cetera ex his, quae cum his non competunt discipli-

nae. Nam etsi quis modeste et probe spectaculis fruitur pro dignitatis vel aetatis vel etiam naturae suae conditione, non tamen immobilis animi est sine tacita spiritus passione. Nemo ad voluptatem venit sine affectu, nemo affectum sine casibus suis patitur. Ipsi casus incitamenta sunt affectus. Ceterum si cessat affectus, nulla est voluptas, et est reus iam ille vanitatis eo conveniens, ubi nihil consequitur. Puto autem, etiam vanitas extranea est nobis. Quid, quod et ipse se iudicat inter eos positus, quorum se similem nolens utique detestatorem confitetur? Nobis satis non est, si ipsi nihil tale faciamus, nisi et talia facientibus non conferamur. Si furem, inquit, videbas, concurrebas cum eo. Utinam ne in seculo quidem simul cum illis moraremur: sed tamen in secularibus separamur, quia seculum dei est, secularia autem diaboli.

XVI. Cum ergo furor interdicitur nobis, ab omni spectaculo auferimur, etiam a circo, ubi proprie furor praesidet. Adspice populum ad spectaculum iam cum furore venientem, iam tumultuosum, iam caecum, iam de sponsionibus concitatum. Tardus est illi praetor, semper oculi in urna eius cum sortibus volutantur. Dehinc ad signum anxii pendent, unius dementiae una vox est. Cognosce dementiam de vanitate. Misit, dicunt, et nuntiant invicem, quod simul ab omnibus visum est. Teneo testimonium caecitatis, non vident missum quid sit, mappam putant: sed est diaboli ab alto praecipitati figura. Ex eo itaque itur in furias et animos et discordias, et quidquid non licet sacerdotibus pacis. Inde maledicta, convicia sine iustitia odii, etiam suffragia sine

merito amoris. Quid enim consecuturi suum illic agunt, qui sui non sunt? nisi forte hoc solum, per quod sui non sunt: de aliena infelicitate contristantur, de aliena felicitate laetantur. Quidquid optant, quidquid abominantur, extraneum ab illis est, ita et amor apud illos otiosus et odium iniustum. At forsitan sine caussa amare liceat, quam sine caussa odisse. Deus certe etiam cum caussa prohibet odisse, qui inimicos diligi iubet; deus etiam cum caussa maledicere non sinit, qui maledicentes benedici praecipit. Sed circo quid amarius, ubi ne principibus quidem aut civibus suis parcunt? Si quid horum, quibus circus furit, alicubi competit sanctis, etiam in circo licebit; si vero nusquam, ideo nec in circo.

XVII. Similiter impudicitiam omnem amoliri iubemur. Hoc igitur modo etiam a theatro separamur, quod est privatum consistorium impudicitiae, ubi nihil probatur, quam quod alibi non probatur. Ita summa gratia eius de spurcitia plurimum concinnata est, quam Atellanus gesticulator, quam mimus etiam per mulieres repraesentat, sexum pudoris exterminans, ut facilius domi quam in scena erubescant; quam denique pantomimus a pueritia patitur in corpore, ut artifex esse possit. Ipsa etiam prostibula, publicae libidinis hostiae, in scena proferuntur, plus miserae in praesentia feminarum, quibus solis latebant, perque omnis aetatis, omnis dignitatis ora transducuntur; locus, stipes, elogium, etiam quibus opus non est, praedicatur. Taceo de reliquis, ea quae in tenebris et in speluncis suis delitescere decebat, ne diem contaminarent. Erubescat senatus, erubescant ordines omnes. Ipsae illae pudoris sui interemtri-

ces, de gestibus suis ad lucem et populum expavescentes, semel anno erubescunt. Quodsi nobis omnis impudicitia exsecranda est, cur liceat audire quae loqui non licet? Cum etiam scurrilitatem et omne vanum verbum iudicatum a deo sciamus, cur aeque liceat videre, quae facere flagitium est? Cur quae ore prolata communicant hominem, ea per oculos et aures admissa non videantur hominem communicare? Cum spiritui appareant aures et oculi, nec possit mundus praestari, cuius apparitores inquinantur. Habes igitur et theatri interdictionem de interdictione impudicitiae.

XVIII. Sin et doctrinam secularis litteraturae, ut stultitiae apud deum deputatam, aspernamur, satis praescribitur nobis et de illis speciebus spectaculorum, quae seculari litteratura lusoriam vel agonisticam scenam dispungunt. Quodsi tragoediae et comoediae scelerum et libidinum auctrices cruentae et lascivae, impiae et prodigae: nullius rei aut atrocis aut vilis commemoratio melior est. Quod in facto reiicitur, etiam in dicto non est recipiendum. Quodsi et stadium contendas in scripturis nominari, sane obtinebis. Sed quae in stadio geruntur, indigna conspectui tuo non negabis, pugnos et calces et colaphos et omnem petulantiam manus, et quamcunque humani oris, id est, divinae imaginis depugnationem. Non probabis usquam vanos cursus et iaculatus et saltus vaniores; nusquam tibi vires aut iniuriosae aut vanae placebunt, sed nec cura factitii corporis, ut plasticam dei supergressa. Et propter otium Graeciae altiles homines oderis. Et palaestrica diaboli negotium est. Primos homines diabolus elisit. Ipse ge-

stus colubrina vis, est tenax ad occupandum, tortuosa ad obligandum, liquida ad elabendum. Nullus tibi coronarum usus est, quid de coronis voluptates aucuparis?

XIX. Exspectabimus nunc et amphitheatri repudium de scripturis. Si saevitiam, si impietatem, si feritatem permissam nobis contendere possumus, eamus in amphitheatrum. Si tales sumus, quales dicimur, delectemur sanguine humano. Bonum est, cum puniuntur nocentes. Quis hoc nisi nocens negabit? Et tamen innocens de supplicio alterius laetari non potest, cum magis competat innocenti dolere, quod homo par eius tam nocens factus est, ut tam crudeliter impendatur. Quis autem mihi sponsor est, nocentes semper vel ad bestias vel ad quodcunque supplicium decerni, ut non innocentia quoque inferatur aut ultione iudicantis aut infirmitate defendentis aut instantia quaestionis. Quam melius ergo est nescire cum mali puniuntur, ne sciam et quum boni pereunt, si tamen bonum sapiunt. Certe quidem gladiatores innocentes in ludum veniunt, ut publicae voluptatis hostiae fiant. Etiam qui damnantur in ludum, quale est, ut de leviore delicto in homicidas emendatione proficiant? Sed haec ethnicis respondi. Ceterum absit, ut de istius spectaculi aversione diutius discat Christianus; quamquam nemo haec omnia plenius exprimere potest, nisi qui adhuc spectat malo non implere, quam meminisse.

XX. Quam vana igitur, imo desperata argumentatio eorum, qui sine dubio tergiversationem admittendae voluptatis obtendunt, nullam eius abstinentiae mentionem specialiter [vel localiter] in scripturis de-

terminari, quae directo prohibeat eiusmodi conventibus interesse servum dei. Novam proxime defensionem suaviludii cuiusdam audivi. Sol, inquit, imo etiam ipse deus de coelo spectat, nec contaminatur. Sane sol et in cloacam radios suos defert, nec inquinatur. Utinam autem deus nulla flagitia hominum spectaret, ut omnes iudicium evaderemus. Sed spectat et latrocinia, spectat et falsa et adulteria et fraudes et idololatrias et spectacula ipsa. Idcirco ergo nos non spectabimus, ne videamur ab illo qui omnia spectat. Compares, homo, reum et iudicem: reum, qui, quia videtur, reus est: iudicem, qui, quia videt, iudex est. Numquid ergo et extra limites circi furori studemus, et extra cardines theatri impudicitiae intendimus, et insolentiae extra stadium, et immisericordiae extra amphitheatrum, quod deus etiam extra cameras et gradus et apulias oculos habet. Erramus, nusquam et nunquam excusatur quod deus damnat. Nusquam et nunquam licet, quod semper et ubique non licet. Haec est veritatis integritas, et quae ei debetur disciplinae plenitudo et aequalitas timoris et fides obsequii, non immutare sententiam nec variare iudicium. Non potest aliud esse, quod vere quidem est bonum seu malum. Omnia autem penes veritatem dei fixa sunt.

XXI. Ethnici, quos penes nulla est veritatis plenitudo, quia nec doctor veritatis deus, malum ac bonum pro arbitrio ac libidine interpretantur, alibi bonum quod alibi malum, et alibi malum quod alibi bonum. Sic ergo evenit, ut qui in publico vix necessitate vesicae tunicam levet, idem in circo aliter non exsultet, nisi totum pudorem in faciem omnium intentet; et

qui filiae virginis ab omni spurco verbo aures tuetur, ipse eam in theatrum ad illas voces gesticulationesque deducat; et qui in plateis litem manu agentem aut compescit aut detestatur, idem in stadio gravioribus pugnis suffragium ferat; et qui ad cadaver hominis communi lege defuncti exhorret, idem in amphitheatro derosa et dissipata et in suo sanguine squalentia corpora patientissimis oculis desuper incumbat; imo qui propter homicidae poenam probandam ad spectaculum veniat, idem gladiatorem ad homicidium flagellis et virgis compellat invitum; et qui insigniori cuique homicidae leonem poscit, idem gladiatori atroci petat rudem et pileum praemium conferat; illum vero confectum etiam oris spectaculo repetat, libentius recognoscens de proximo, quem voluit occidere de longinquo, tanto durior si noluit.

XXII. Quid mirum inaequata ista hominum miscentium et commutantium statum boni et mali per inconstantiam sensus et iudicii varietate? Etenim ipsi auctores et administratores spectaculorum quadrigarios, scenicos, xysticos, arenarios illos amantissimos, quibus viles animas feminae, aut illi etiam, corpora sua substernunt, propter quos in ea committunt, quae reprehendunt, ex eadem arte, qua magnifaciunt, deponunt [et deminuunt], imo manifeste damnant ignominia et capitis minutione, arcentes curia, rostris, senatu, equite, ceterisque honoribus omnibus simul atque ornamentis quibusdam. Quanta perversitas! Amant quos mulctant, depretiant quos probant; artem magnificant, artificem notant. Quale iudicium est, ut ob ea quis offuscetur, per quae promeretur? Imo quanta confessio est malae rei,

cuius auctores, cum acceptissimi sint, sine nota non sunt!

XXIII. Quum igitur humana recordatio etiam obstrepente gratia voluptatis damnandos eos censeat, ademtis bonis dignitatum in quendam scopulum famositatis, quanto magis divina iustitia in eiusmodi artifices animadvertit? An deo placebit auriga ille tot animarum inquietator, tot furiarum minister, tot statuum, ut sacerdos coronatus, vel coloratus ut leno, quem curru rapiendum diabolus adversus Heliam exornavit? Placebit et ille, qui vultus suos novacula mutat? infidelis erga faciem suam, quam non contentus Saturno et Isidi et Libero proximam facere, insuper contumeliis alaparum sic obiicit, quasi de praecepto domini ludat? Docet scilicet et diabolus verberandam maxillam patienter offerre. Sic et tragoedos cothurnis extulit, quia nemo potest adiicere cubitum unum ad staturam suam, mendacem facere vult Christum. Iam vero ipsum opus personarum, quaero, an deo placeat, qui omnem similitudinem vetat fieri, quanto magis imaginis suae. Non amat falsum auctor veritatis; adulterium est apud illum omne quod fingitur. Proinde vocem, sexus, aetates mentientem, amores, iras, gemitus, lacrimas adseverantem non probabit, qui omnem hypocrisin damnat. Ceterum cum in lege praescribit, maledictum esse, qui muliebribus vestiatur, quid de pantomimo iudicabit, qui etiam muliebribus utatur? Sane et ille artifex pugnorum impunitus ibit? Tales enim cicatrices caestuum et callos pugnorum et aurium fungos a deo cum suo plasmate accepit. Ideo illi oculos deus plasmavit, ut vapulando deficiant. Taceo

de illo, qui hominem leoni prae se opponit, ne parum sit homicida, quam qui eundem postmodum iugulat.

XXIV. Quot adhuc modis perorabimus, nihil ex his quae spectaculis deputantur, placitum deo esse aut congruens dei servis, quod domino placitum non sit. Si omnia propter diabolum instituta et ex diaboli rebus instructa monstravimus (nihil enim non diaboli est, quicquid dei non est vel deo displicet): hoc erit pompa diaboli, adversus quam in signaculo fidei eieramus. Quod autem eieramus, neque facto neque dicto neque visu neque prospectu participare debemus. Ceterum nonne eieramus et rescindimus signaculum rescindendo testationem eius? Numquid ergo superest, ut ab ipsis ethnicis responsum flagitemus? Illi iam nobis renuntient, an liceat Christianis spectaculo uti. Atquin hinc vel maxime intelligunt factum Christianum de repudio spectaculorum. Itaque negat manifeste, qui, per quod agnoscitur, tollit. Quid autem spei superest in huiusmodi homine? Nemo in castra hostium transit, nisi proiectis armis suis, nisi destitutis signis et sacramentis principis sui, nisi pactus simul perire.

XXV. An ille recogitabit eo tempore de deo, positus illic, ubi nihil est de deo? Pacem, opinor, habebit in animo contendens pro auriga, pudicitiam ediscet attonitus in mimos. Imo in omni spectaculo nullum magis scandalum occurret, quam ipse ille mulierum et virorum accuratior cultus: ipsa consensio, ipsa in favoribus aut conspiratio aut dissensio inter se de commercio scintillas libidinum conflabellant. Nemo denique in spectaculo ineundo prius cogitat, nisi videri et videre. Sed tragoedo vociferante ex-

clamationes ille alicuius prophetae retractabit? et inter effeminati histrionis modos Psalmum secum comminiscetur? et cum athletae agent, ille dicturus est repercutiendum non esse? poterit et [de] misericordia moveri defixus in morsus ursorum et spongias retiariorum? Avertat deus a suis tantam voluptatis exitiosae cupiditatem. Quale est enim de ecclesia dei in diaboli ecclesiam tendere, de coelo, quod aiunt, in coenum? illas manus quas ad dominum extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore, quo Amen in Sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος alii omnino dicere, nisi deo et Christo?

XXVI. Cur ergo non eiusmodi etiam daemoniis penetrabiles fiant? Nam et exemplum accidit, domino teste, eius mulieris quae theatrum adiit et inde cum daemonio rediit. Itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem adgredi, constanter et iustissime quidem, inquit, feci, in meo eam inveni. Constat et alii linteum in somnis ostensum eius diei nocte, qua tragoedum audierat, cum exprobratione nominato tragoedo, nec ultra quintum diem eam mulierem in seculo fuisse. Quot utique et alia documenta cesserunt de his, qui cum diabolo apud spectacula communicando a domino exciderunt. Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire. Quid luci cum tenebris? quid vitae et morti?

XXVII. Odisse debemus istos conventus et coetus ethnicorum, vel quod illic nomen dei blasphematur, illic quotidiani in nos leones expostulantur, inde persecutiones decernuntur, inde tentationes emittuntur. Quid facies in illo suffragiorum impiorum aestuario

deprehensus? non quasi aliquid illic pati possis ab hominibus; nemo te cognoscit Christianum; sed recogita, quid de te fiat in coelo. Dubitas enim illo momento, quo in diaboli ecclesia fueris, omnes angelos prospicere de coelo et singulos denotare, quis blasphemiam dixerit, quis audierit, quis linguam, quis aures diabolo adversus deum administraverit? Non ergo fugies sedilia hostium Christi, illam cathedram pestilentiarum, ipsumque aërem, qui desuper incubat, scelestis vocibus constupratum? Sint dulcia licet et grata et simplicia, etiam honesta quaedam. Nemo venenum temperat felle et helleboro, sed conditis pulmentis et bene saporatis, et plurimum dulcibus id mali iniicit. Ita et diabolus letale, quod conficit, rebus dei gratissimis et acceptissimis imbuit. Omnia illic seu fortia, seu honesta, seu sonora, seu canora, seu subtilia, proinde habe, ac [si] stillicidia mellis de ranunculo venenato; nec tanti gulam facias voluptatis, quanti periculum per suavitatem.

XXVIII. Saginentur eiusmodi dulcibus convivae sui, et loca et tempora et invitator ipsorum est. Nostrae coenae, nostrae nuptiae nondum sunt, non possumus cum illis discumbere, quia nec illi nobiscum. Vicibus disposita res est. Nunc illi laetantur, nos conflictamur. Seculum, inquit, gaudebit, vos tristes eritis. Lugeamus ergo dum ethnici gaudent, ut quum lugere coeperint, gaudeamus, ne pariter nunc gaudentes, tunc quoque pariter lugeamus. Delicatus es Christiane, si et in seculo voluptatem concupiscis, imo nimium stultus, si hoc existimas voluptatem. Philosophi quidam hoc nomen quieti et tranquillitati dederunt, in ea gaudent, in ea avocantur, in ea etiam

gloriantur. Tu mihi metas et scenas et pulverem et arenas suspiras. Dicas velim. Non possumus vivere sine voluptate, qui mori cum voluptate debebimus? Nam quod est aliud votum nostrum, quam quod et apostoli, exire de seculo et recipi apud dominum? Hic voluptas, ubi et votum.

XXIX. Iam nunc si putas delectamentis exigere spatium hoc, cur tam ingratus es, ut tot et tales voluptates a deo contributas tibi satis non habeas neque recognoscas? Quid enim iucundius, quam dei patris et domini reconciliatio, quam veritatis revelatio, quam errorum recognitio, quam tantorum retro criminum venia? Quae maior voluptas, quam fastidium ipsius voluptatis, quam seculi totius contemtus, quam vera libertas, quam conscientia integra, quam vita sufficiens, quam mortis timor nullus; quod calcas deos nationum, quod daemonia expellis, quod medicinas facis, quod revelationes petis, quod deo vivis? Hae voluptates, haec spectacula Christianorum sancta, perpetua, gratuita; in his tibi ludos circenses interpretare, cursus seculi intuere, tempora labentia, spatia dinumera, metas consummationis exspecta, societates ecclesiarum defende, ad signum dei suscitare, ad tubam angeli erigere, ad martyrii palmas gloriare. Si scenicae doctrinae delectant, satis nobis litterarum est, satis versuum [est], satis sententiarum, satis etiam canticorum, satis vocum, nec fabulae, sed veritates, nec strophae, sed simplicitates. Vis et pugillatus et luctatus? praesto sunt, non parva, sed multa. Adspice impudicitiam deiectam a castitate, perfidiam caesam a fide, saevitiam a misericordia contusam, petulantiam a modestia obumbratam, et tales sunt apud

nos agones, in quibus ipsi coronamur. Vis autem et sanguinis aliquid? habes Christi.

XXX. Quale autem spectaculum in proximo est adventus domini iam indubitati, iam superbi, iam triumphantis! quae illa exsultatio angelorum, quae gloria resurgentium sanctorum! quale regnum exinde iustorum! qualis civitas nova Hierusalem! At enim supersunt alia spectacula, ille ultimus et perpetuus iudicii dies, ille nationibus insperatus, ille derisus, cum tanta seculi vetustas et tot eius nativitates uno igne haurientur. Quae tunc spectaculi latitudo! quid admirer? quid rideam? ubi gaudeam, ubi exsultem, spectans tot ac tantos reges, qui in coelum recepti nuntiabantur, cum ipso Iove et ipsis suis testibus in imis tenebris congemiscentes? item praesides, persecutores dominici nominis saevioribus flammis, quam ipsi saevierunt insultantibus contra Christianos, liquescentes? praeterea sapientes illos philosophos coram discipulis suis una conflagrantibus erubescentes, quibus nihil ad deum pertinere suadebant, quibus animas aut nullas aut non in pristina corpora redituras affirmabant? etiam poetas non ad Rhadamanti, nec ad Minois, sed ad inopinati Christi tribunal palpitantes? Tunc magis tragoedi audiendi, magis scilicet vocales in sua propria calamitate; tunc histriones cognoscendi solutiores multo per ignem; tunc spectandus auriga in flammea rota totus rubens; tunc xystici contemplandi non in gymnasiis, sed in igne iaculati, nisi quod nec tunc quidem illos velim visos, ut qui malim ad eos potius conspectum insatiabilem conferre, qui in dominum desaevierunt. Hic est ille, dicam, fabri aut quaestuariae filius, sabbati destruc-

tor, Samarites et daemonium habens. Hic est, quem a Iuda redemistis, hic est ille arundine et colaphis diverberatus, sputamentis dedecoratus, felle et aceto potatus. Hic est, quem clam discentes subripuerunt, ut resurrexisse dicatur, vel hortulanus detraxit, ne lactucae suae frequentia commeantium laederentur. Ut talia spectes, ut talibus exsultes, quis tibi, praetor aut consul, aut quaestor, aut sacerdos, de sua liberalitate praestabit? Et tamen haec iam quodammodo habemus per fidem spiritu imaginante repraesentata. Ceterum qualia illa sunt, quae nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt? Credo, circo et utraque cavea et omni stadio gratiora.

THE LIFE OF TERTULLIAN,

AND

AN INTRODUCTION TO HIS WORKS.

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By Prof. Lyman Coleman, D.D.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, one of the earliest and most distinguished of the Latin fathers, was born at Carthage about A.D. 160, the son of a Roman centurion in the service of the pro-consul of Africa. By nature a great genius, he had the advantage of the best literary culture of the age. He was an accomplished Greek scholar, and in that language wrote various treatises now lost. In his writings he appears to be alike familiar with the antiquities and history of the past, and the prevalent systems of physics and philosophy; and particularly skilled in Roman jurisprudence. Eusebius describes him as accurately acquainted with the laws of the Romans, and distinguished among the most illustrious men of Rome.[1]

Of the incidents of his life little is known. He seems to have been reared a Pagan, and to have been in early life addicted to the vices of the age.[2] The Christian religion he regarded as a contemptible superstition. But between the thirtieth and fortieth years of his life we find him a convert to this religion which he had despised. The constancy of the martyrs in avowing their faith in defiance of the most exquisite tortures and death may have been the occasion of his conversion.[3] But of

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[1] Eusebius, ii., 2.

[2] As he himself confesses, though he seems never to have indulged in the grossest sensualities of Paganism. On this point the following references are given: De Resurrectione, c. 59; Apol., § 18, 25; De Anima, c. 2; De Poenit., c. 4, 12; Ad Scapulam, c. 5.

[3] Apol., § 23, 50.

this we have no record, nor, indeed, of his subsequent Christian life. He was presbyter in Carthage, and probably also at Rome. His conversion seems to have been as decisive and effective as that of the great apostle of the Gentiles. In utter abhorrence of Paganism, he becomes the fearless defender of Christianity against unbelievers of every type—heathen, heretics, and Jews. He was the first of the fathers to bring out, like the apostle Paul, in clear and perfect contrast, sin and grace abounding in human life.

The Church was divided by Gnosticism, an attempt to interpret and master the facts of Christianity, so as to make them accord with the Greek philosophical speculation. "On the one hand, there was a tendency which was directly opposite to Gnosticism, and repelled those elements of culture which Gnosticism would have blended with Christianity; to the predominant speculative tendency of Gnosticism it opposed the aims of practical Christianity, attaching itself with all its might simply to the facts of Christianity, and rejecting with a firm religious realism all idealistic subtleties. On the other hand, there was a tendency which in its striving after knowledge approximated to Gnosticism, recognized a real mental want which lay at its basis, and sought to satisfy it by substituting for a false gnosis a true one founded on Christian principles."[1] Tertullian was the representative of the first tendency, Origen of the second. Both Cyprian and the great Augustine, countrymen of Tertullian, took the cast and the coloring of their piety and their theology from him. Cyprian claims Tertullian as his teacher, and Augustine shows as clearly the impress of the same great master on himself. Foremost in talent, learning, and piety, he left the impress of his character upon the Church for many generations. Removed but a single century from the age of the apostles, he stands in the forefront of the Christian fathers, the representative of the primitive Christians and the expositor of their inner life, their faith, their Church organization and forms of worship. In this respect his various treatises and discussions are of priceless value. An English bishop has published an Ecclesiastical History of the sec-

[1] Neander, Antignosticus, Introduction.

ond and third centuries illustrated from the writings of Tertullian.[1]

In genius and style Tertullian is the Tacitus of ecclesiastical Latinity. Like him a great genius, of the same fiery vigor, energy, and eloquence, expressed in terse, epigrammatic style, often obscure by its conciseness, its surprising images, and quaint antitheses.

Without the calm philosophic spirit, logical element, and wonderful power of generalization of Tacitus, Tertullian is speculative, impulsive, impassioned, with exhaustless wit and sarcasm.

Whether contending with a heathen, heretic, or catholic, he assails his antagonist with merciless satire, wit, and argument, mixed with hyperbole, sophistry, and special pleading in his impetuous onset. He is sometimes oratorical and turgid, frequently harsh and obscure in the use of unusual constructions, blind allusions, Latinized Greek, new-coined words, and perhaps African provincialisms. But his writings, notwithstanding these blemishes, are a storehouse of Patristic learning, especially valuable for their description of the existing state of Christian doctrines, of the constitution, worship, and customs of the Church, and of the positions assumed by the various sects of heretics. He was the Puritan of the primitive Church—a stern, austere, severe moralist, a zealous guardian and defender of the Church against the prevalent laxity of morals and heresies of the age. "The unyielding, powerful exhibition of what was peculiarly Christian, with an unceremonious rejection of all foreign ingredients, in sharp hostility to the existing world, forms the marked distinction of Tertullian's spirit." Such is Neander's estimate of the character of Tertullian.[2]

In his later life he ran to great extremes, urging frequent fasts, contempt of worldly conveniences, abstinence from second marriage, and other monastic rigors. At this time Montanus, a bishop of Phrygia, who held these views of Christian conduct, gave himself out as the promised Comforter, who was to tell all things, and mature the Christian system. He taught that all true Christians receive inspiration. A large body of the Church

[1] S. Kaye, bishop of Lincoln, 3d edition, 1848.

[2] Antignosticus, Introduction.

accepted him. They are called Montanists. Tertullian was one of them, and the greatest among them.

The works of Tertullian are distinguished as containing or not containing Montanist views. Those here chosen have little or nothing of these errors, though some have thought that "Ad Scapulam" and "De Spectaculis" were written after he became a Montanist.

I. Ad Martyras.

The Christians were exposed to persecutions from many pretexts. As long as the laws of Trajan against Christianity, as a religion not tolerated by the State, remained unrepealed, Christians could not reckon on quietness and security in the Roman Empire. The passions excited by civil wars were turned against them. Disastrous military expeditions, and public calamities of any kind, kindled afresh the popular hatred against them, as if they were the cause of every public calamity.

"If the Tiber overflows against the walls, if the Nile does not rise to irrigate the fields—if heaven is shut up and there is no rain—whether there be earthquakes, famine, or pestilence—immediately the cry is—*Christianos ad leonem!*[1] With the public festivities of military triumph they could take no part. The theatres and gladiatorial combats they would not frequent, neither would they offer incense or sacrifices in honor of the emperors. Thus were they accounted the enemies of the emperor, the empire, and the gods; and when the populace or an unfriendly ruler took advantage of such an opportunity to throw Christians into prison, they might always according to existing laws be put to death. In this manner they were continually delivered unto death." To Christians who were thus languishing in prisons and had martyrdom in prospect, Tertullian felt himself impelled by Christian love to address words of consolation and encouragement.

Large supplies of bodily refreshments were conveyed into the prisons in the name of the whole Church and of individuals, who vied with one another in expressions of love toward their suffering brethren and the witnesses to the faith. "Along with

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[1] Apol., § 40.

those means of bodily nourishment, which your mother, the Church, from her stores, and individual brethren from their private property, send to you while in prison, receive from me something which may serve for the sustenance of your souls. It profits not that the body be nourished while the soul is famished; rather if the weak be taken care of, that which is stronger ought not to be neglected. . . . Before all things, ye blessed martyrs, grieve not the Holy Spirit, who has entered the prison with you; for if He had not entered with you into the prison, you would not be here to-day. Hence strive that He may abide with you here and lead you hence to the Lord. The prison is also an abode of the Evil Spirit, where he meets those who belong to him. But on this account ye are come to the prison, that ye may tread him underfoot in his own abode; for outside of the prison ye have already combated with him, and trodden him underfoot. . . . May he find you fortified and armed with concord, because to maintain peace among yourselves is to make war with him."

Their imprisonment was really their enlargement and deliverance. The world is to the Christian a prison-house, and separation from this is freedom from trial and temptations. Life is a warfare—a race for an immortal crown.

"Ye are about to enter a noble contest, in which the living God is the umpire; the Holy Spirit is the overseer; the crown is eternity; the prize is an angelic life, a citizenship in heaven, everlasting glory." In this strain of affectionate earnestness Tertullian strives to strengthen the martyrs for the death to which they were delivered.

II. De Testimonio Animæ.

This is a philosophical argument for the existence of God from the universal consciousness of the Deity, in conformity with the philosophizing spirit of the Grecian schools. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others reason well. Cicero affirms their reasoning, for the existence of God, from the consent of all nations.[1] There is in all this consciousness of a personal God a

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[1] "Qui nondum ea, quae multis post annis tractari coepta sunt, phy-

sense of dependence upon Him, and accountability to Him. In order to marshal against heathenism this universal consciousness, Tertullian puts forth this treatise—"The Witness of the Soul." "I call in a new witness, yea, one more known than all literature, more active than all learning, more public than all publications, greater than man altogether, for it is that which forms the whole of man. O soul, stand forth in the midst, whether thou art a thing divine and eternal, according to most philosophers, and so much the more not an utterer of falsehood; or, as seemed to Epicurus alone, by no means divine, because mortal, and therefore who oughtest so much the more to speak the truth; whether thou art received from heaven or conceived on earth, or fitly framed of parts or atoms; whether thou hadst thy beginning with the body, or art sent into the body after it is formed; from whatever source and in whatever manner thou makest man a rational being, most capacious of understanding and knowledge. I summon thee not such as when, formed in the schools, exercised in libraries, nourished in the academies and porches of Athens, thou utterest thy crude wisdom. I address thee as simple and rude and unpolished and unlearned—such as they have thee who have only thee; the very and entire thing that thou art, in the road, in the highway, in the weaver's factory. I have need of thy inexperience, since in thy experience, however small, no one puts faith. I demand of thee those truths which thou bringest with thyself into man, which thou hast learned to know either for thyself or from the Author of thy being. Thou art not, as I know, a Christian; for a Christian is wont *to be made, not born.* Yet now Christians demand a testimony from thee, who art a stranger, against thy own friends, that they may blush even before thee, for hating and scoffing at us, on account of those very things to which thy own consciousness testifies.

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sica didicissent, tantum sibi persuaserant, quantum, natura admonente, cognoverant; rationes et causas rerum non tenebant; . . . Omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur; nec vero id collocutio hominum aut consensus effecit; non institutio opinio est confirmata, non legibus; omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est."—Tusculan Disputations, § 13.

"What notion the soul is able to form respecting its original teacher, it is in thy power to judge from that soul which is within thee.

"Is it strange if, being given by God, it sings the same things which God has granted his people to know?" Tertullian calls these utterances the teaching of a congenial nature, and the silent deposits of an innate consciousness.[1]

III. Apologeticus.

The "Apology" of Tertullian opens with an earnest remonstrance against the injustice of denying to Christians a fair trial, and condemning them unheard. The officers of state would listen to no public defense or inquiry into their characters. Enough that they were chargeable with an inflexible obstinacy and detestable superstition. If, then, you who are set for the defense of truth and justice are ashamed or afraid to allow to Christianity an open defense, let the truth come secretly to your ears in the way of a private apology and defense. She craves no favor at your hands. She marvels not at her condition. She knows that she is but a stranger upon earth, and among strangers readily finds enemies. But she has her birth, her home, her hope, her honor, her happiness in heaven. One favor only she asks—not to be condemned unheard, unknown.

What more unreasonable than to hate that which is unknown? Thus are Christians ignorantly hated. Even with the commendation of a good man are mingled execrations of him as a Christian. Caius Sejanus is a good man, though a Christian. I marvel that Lucius, a wise man, has suddenly become a Christian. But is not Caius good, Lucius wise, because they are Christians? or Christians because wise and good?[2] They that hate Christianity cease their hatred as soon as it becomes known to them, and in their interest in the Christian religion begin now to hate what once they approved.

"The whole state is besieged by Christians is the cry; they are in the fields, the fortresses, the islands. They of every sex, age, and condition, even officers of the state, have gone over to

[1] Antignosticus, transl. Ryland.

[2] Apol., § 3; comp. § 1.

this sect." This is remarked as an occasion of grief, because a detriment to the state, the inquiry never being raised whether any latent good may come from this reformation. Here only all human inquiry and reflection is laid to rest. Ignorance, rather than knowledge, is desired. The intelligent reader will not fail to notice the intimation that the whole Roman Empire is in this latter half of the second century already pervaded with this new religion, all which is confirmed by other authorities, particularly by this letter of Pliny to which Tertullian refers,[1] which affirms the spread of Christianity to cities and villages in his provinces in Asia Minor, and the desertion of the Pagan temples and general neglect of their offerings. Such progress Christianity made in the first century from the apostolic age, spreading its conquests far and wide over the Roman Empire, and carrying them up even to Caesar's household.[2]

The indications of the life and character of the Christians, their Church organizations and religious belief, which are thickly scattered over the pages of Tertullian, should be carefully selected for study as the choicest gems of his cabinet. In the second section he informs us that they meet a great while before day for their religious worship, as a precaution against the intrusion of their enemies. Boehmer has shown that these meetings before the early dawn were continued far into the third century.[3] Pliny, in the letter to which Tertullian refers, bears testimony of their meeting on a *stated day*, the Christian Sabbath, for their religious rites; another important fact to be noted. The sentiments and usages of Christians relating to this day are elaborately illustrated by Boehmer, to whom we can only refer.[4] The honors paid to Christ as God (*ut Deo*), or as to a God (*quasi Deo*), whichever is accepted as the true interpretation, show that Christ was the object of adoration as divine.

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[1] Apol., § 2.

[2] Many other authorities to the same effect are given by the annotation on this passage. Tertullian, vol. i., p. 262. Edit. Migne.

[3] J. H. Boehmer, Dissertat. De Antelucanis, Christianorum Coetibus.

[4] De stato Christianorum die.

The covenant relation of Christians is worthy of special note, in which they pledge themselves to be faithful to their religion, forbidding murder, adultery, dishonesty, and other crimes. This is discussed at length by Boehmer, and confirmed by an extended citation of authorities.[1]

The reformation of character in Christians, and their purity of morals consequent upon their conversion, is largely insisted on by Tertullian. The wife, once how wanton, how gay, has now become chaste. The youth, so profligate, so devoted to his lusts, has become gentle, obedient to his parents; and the servant faithful to his master.[2] We never pollute the marriage-bed, we are faithful to our wards, we give aid to the needy, we render to none evil for evil. For freedom from crime so singular, for probity so great, for righteousness, for purity, for faithfulness, for truth, for the living God, we are consigned to the flames.[3]

Having exposed the injustice of the hatred and persecutions of which Christians are the subjects, Tertullian complains that they are never allowed to vindicate themselves from the charges alleged against them. I am charged with infanticide, with incest —why no inquiry, no torture to extort the truth? I am guilty of crimes against the gods, against the emperors—why am I not allowed a defense in law?[4] We are condemned without trial. We glory in our condemnation by such a wretch as Nero, by whom only some distinguished excellence was ever condemned.[5] Domitian, another Nero in character, has honored us with his persecutions. Such have ever been our persecutors. The unjust, the impious, the base, whom you yourselves condemn.

In his denial of the crimes charged upon Christians, Tertullian retorts upon these revilers their own shocking immoralities —infanticide, incest, licentiousness, murder, cannibalism. "In part openly, in part secretly, practices prevail among you which

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[1] J. H. Boehmer, De Confoederata Christianorum Disciplina.

[2] Apol., § 3.

[3] Ad Scapulum, § 4; comp. Apol., § 39.

[4] § 4.

[5] § 5; comp. Tacitus, De Agricola, § 2. "Expulsis sapiaetia professoribus atque omni bona arte in exillium, acta ne quid usquam honestum occurreret."

have led you to credit similar crimes among us. How many of your rulers, even, may I charge in their own conscience with putting their offspring to death. Blush for your rude practices before Christians, to whom crimes like yours are wholly unknown." Such is the strain of conscious innocence and cutting irony which he hurls back on his accusers, the weapons of their own warfare, and shows them guilty of crimes which even they venture not to charge upon the Christian sect.[1]

"'But you do not worship the gods, nor offer sacrifices to the emperors.' Yes, surely, we refuse to worship your gods—for they are no gods whom you worship, but men,[2] or the images of men, as worthless and wicked as yourselves. You dare not deny, then, that these your deifies were once men, and even as your gods are guilty of the most infamous crimes. Your dramatic literature depicts all their vileness. Consider, then, whether your gods, so far from being raised to heaven by their merits, deserve not rather to sink down into the lowest depths of Tartarus, the prison-house of infernal punishment, where are wont to be thrust those who are disobedient to parents, incestuous, adulterers, seducers, ravishers of the chaste, murderers, thieves, deceivers—all, indeed, and every one who in character is conformed to some one of your gods, not one of whom can you prove to be free from vice and crimes but by denying that they ever had an existence as men. This you can not deny; and their crimes forbid the supposition that they could have been deified after death. All are conscious that in the temples adulteries are arranged, assignations made; and generally in the houses of the priests and overseers of the temples, under the sacred fillets, the canonical hat, and the purple robe, amid the smoke of the incense, deeds of licentiousness are done. Deify your vile criminals if you would please your gods. No Christian will enter your temples or pay devotion to such divinities. We worship one God, who, by his word, his wisdom, his power,

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[1] § 9.

[2] The same is affirmed by Cicero in his Tusculan disputations: "Ipsi illi majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in coelum reperientur."

from nothing has created the world, with its elements and spirits, for the glory of his majesty. Him we worship, looking not to the Roman capitol, but to heaven, the throne of the living God." In this strain, through several sections, from the tenth to the eighteenth, our author triumphantly refutes the charge of impiety in refusing to pay divine honors to the gods of their accusers.

Next he explains the divine origin of the sacred Scriptures, and the translation of the Septuagint, the prophecies, the miracles, and the death and resurrection of Christ—a record of which was retained in the archives of the Romans, reported to the Emperor Tiberius by Pontius Pilate. In accordance with the prevalent sentiment of the primitive Church, Tertullian anticipated the speedy dissolution of the world; and yet, while desiring to depart—Christians are not unprofitable citizens—*homines in fructuosis in negotiis*—"We live with you, having the same food, dress, furniture, and daily wants.[1] We voyage with you, serve in your armies, labor in your fields, and traffic with you."

In reply to the charge that Christians were lacking in loyalty to the emperor, because they would not sacrifice for his health with other citizens, nor join with them in the celebrations of festivals to his honor, as unbecoming and idolatrous, our author proceeds to say: "We pray for the health of the emperors to the eternal, the true, the living God, whom even the emperors themselves would rather have propitious to them than all the rest. They know who has given them dominion. They know, as men, who has given them life. They feel that he is God alone, in whose power alone they are, to whom they are second, after whom they are first, before all and above all gods. And why not? since they are above all men, who as living surely stand before the dead. They reflect how far the powers of their empire avail, and thus they understand God. They ac-

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[1] Apol., § 30. Tertullian here finely contrasts the practices of the Christians with those of their Pagan adversaries: "Illuc suspicientes Christiani, manibus expansis, quia innocuis; capite nudo, quia non er erubescimus; denique, sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus."

knowledge that they prevail through Him against whom they can not prevail. In a word, let the emperor conquer heaven, carry heaven captive in his triumph, send his guards to heaven, impose taxes on heaven. He can not; and he is great because he is less than heaven; for he himself is of Him of whom is both heaven and every creature. Thence he is an emperor, whence he was a man before he was an emperor; thence came his power whence came his breath. Thither we Christians look up with outspread, because innocent hands; with bare head, because we blush not; finally, without a prompter, because we pray from our heart: we are always praying for all emperors, that they may have a long life, a secure government, a safe home, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a righteous people, a world at peace, and all that man or emperor can wish for."

These prayers they offered extempore, with eyes uplifted and hands outspread, without a prompter or prescribed forms or rehearsals from a prayer-book.[1]

From the thirty-ninth section onward Tertullian gives an extended account of the Christian sect. Much may be learned from the latter part of the "Apology" relative to their ecclesiastical polity, their doctrinal belief, and their private life. For these reasons this portion of the "Apology" should be carefully studied. "We are a body knit together as such by a common religious profession, by unity of discipline, and by the bond of a common hope. We meet together as an assembly and congregation, that, offering up prayer to God as with united force, we may wrestle with Him in our supplications. This violence God delights in. We pray, too, for the emperors, for their ministers and for all in authority, for the welfare of the world, for the prevalence of peace,

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[1] "Vidimus certis praecationibus observasse summos magistratus; ne quid verborum praetereatur, aut praeposterum dicatur, de scripto praeire aliquem."—Pliny, lib. xxxviii., 3.

The stated forms of prayer were observed with the most scrupulous exactness, and a monitor stood by the suppliant to prevent the slightest aberration.

"Stetit ante aram, nec turpe putavit
Pro cithara velare caput; dictataque verba
Pertulit, ut mos est."—Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi., 300–2.

for the delay of the final consummation. We assemble to read our sacred writings, if any peculiarity of the times makes either forewarning or reminiscence needful. However it be in that respect, with the sacred words we nourish our faith, we animate our hope, we make our confidence more steadfast; and no less by inculcations of God's precepts we confirm good habits. In the same place, also, exhortations are made, rebukes and sacred censures are administered. For with great gravity is the work of judging carried on among us, as befits those who feel assured that they are in the sight of God; and you have the most notable example of judgment to come when any one has sinned so grievously as to require his severance from us in prayer and the meeting, and all sacred intercourse." They were acknowledged as Christians by reason of their reformation from their vices—*fiunt non nascuntur Christiani.*[1] None can be a Christian without perseverance to the end. Among Christians, as among philosophers, persons are found whose lives are inconsistent with their principles. Such persons have no part in our public assemblies nor in our supper.[2] By their delinquency they become yours once more; you have no right to call them Christians to whom Christians themselves deny that name, and who have not learned to deny themselves.[3]

IV. Ad Scapulam.

Scapula, a Roman proconsul in Carthage, by his persecutions of the Christians, constrained Tertullian to address to him the following apologetic and hortatory remonstrance:

"We are not in any great perturbation or alarm about the persecutions we suffer from ignorant men; for we have attached ourselves to this sect, fully accepting the terms of its covenant—so that, as men whose very lives are not their own, we engage in these conflicts, desiring to obtain God's promised rewards, and dreading lest the woes with which He threatens an unchristian life should overtake us. So we shrink not from the grapple with your utmost rage, coming even forth of our own accord to the contest; and condemnation gives us more

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[1] Apol., § 18. [2] § 16. [3] Ad Nationes, § 5.

pleasure than acquittal. We have sent, therefore, this tract to you in no alarm about ourselves, but in much concern for you and for all our enemies, to say nothing about our friends. For our religion commands us to love even our enemies, and to pray for those who persecute us, aiming at a perfection all its own, and seeking in its disciples something of a higher type than the commonplace goodness of the world. For all love those who love them; it is peculiar to Christians alone to love those that hate them. Therefore, mourning over your ignorance and compassionating human error, and looking for that future of which every day shows threatening signs, necessity is laid on us to come forth in this manner, that we may set before you the truths you will not listen to openly and publicly."

He proceeds to plead the peaceable, harmless characters of those who are persecuted. Many examples he gives of providential judgments falling upon their persecutors, and appeals to the lenity and forbearance of other rulers. He reminds Scapula of the injustice of persecuting the best citizens of the state, reaffirms their purity of character, and exclaims: "For freedom from crime so singular, for a probity so great, for righteousness, for purity, for faithfulness, for truth, for the living God, we are consigned to the flames. . . .

"What will you do with so many thousands, such multitudes of men and women, persons of every sex and every age and every rank, when they present themselves before you? How many fires, how many swords will be required? What will be the anguish of Carthage itself, which you will have to decimate, as each one recognizes there his relatives and companions, as he sees there, it may be, men of your own order, and noble ladies, and all the leading persons of the city, and either kinsmen or friends of those of your own circle? Spare thyself, if not us poor Christians! Spare Carthage, if not thyself! Spare the province, which the indication of your purpose has subjected to the threats and extortions at once of the soldiers and of private enemies.

"We have no master but God. He is before you, and can not be hidden from you; but to Him you can do no injury. But those whom you regard as masters are only men, and one day they themselves must die. Yet still this community of Chris-

tians will be undying, for be assured that just in the time of its seeming overthrow it is built up into greater power."

V. De Spectaculis.

The festivities on the celebration of the victories of the Roman arms gave rise to the question whether Christians could consistently frequent such theatrical exhibitions. How far may they place themselves on a level with the men of the world, adopt their manners, amusements, and mode of life, without doing violence to Christian principles and the Christian spirit. This question must very often have come under discussion then, when Christianity had but just emerged out of heathenism, and was in daily conflict with it. Here was a liability to error in either direction: on the one hand a loose and general conformity to the customs of the age, which overshadows the principles and the purity of Christian life; on the other a stern non-compliance with the maxims and usages of society, as incompatible with the Christian's profession and life. Tertullian, a high moralist and severe disciplinarian, advocates the latter view of religious duty. The Church is still divided on the question of patronizing theatrical and other public amusements. To Christians now as then the discussion of this puritanical father of the ancient Church may be interesting and pertinent.

"Ye servants of God, about to draw near to God, that you may make solemn consecration of yourselves to Him, seek well to understand the condition of faith, the reasons of the truth, the laws of Christian discipline, which forbid, among other sins of the world, the pleasures of the public shows; ye who have testified and confessed that you have already done so, review the subject, that there may be no sinning, whether through real or willful ignorance." After this introduction, he proceeds to the consideration of the arguments urged both by Christians and heathen in vindication of the public shows.

One in becoming a Christian turns instinctively away from these as abhorrent to his nature. By this baptismal vow he is bound to renounce the devil, his pomps and his angels, and therefore to renounce idolatry and every thing connected with it. The spirit of religion is pure, peaceable, and gentle. How

can such a spirit harmonize with these exhibitions? "In no place and at no time is that excused which God condemns; in no place and at no time is that lawful which is not lawful always and every where."[1] But the games, the circus, public exhibitions in honor of heathen deities, are all base in their origin and demoralizing in character, and lead to a general profligacy. Such is the effect of the immodesty of gesture and attire which characterizes the stage. This line of argument and remonstrance our author pursues through several sections, showing that all public exhibitions have the taint of idolatry and impurity. He says: "We have, I think, faithfully carried out our plan of showing in how many different ways the sin of idolatry clings to the shows, in respect of their origin, their titles, their equipments, their places of celebration, their arts; and we may hold it as a thing beyond all doubt that for us who have twice renounced all idols they are utterly unsuitable."

Next Tertullian urges scriptural arguments against these exhibitions. They excite forbidden passions, are grossly immodest. "How is it that those things that defile a man, proceeding from the mouth, are not regarded as doing so when they go in at his eyes and ears? God is a spectator of all these shows, and precisely on that account we will not see them, lest the All-seeing see us. We ought to detest these heathen meetings and assemblies, if on no other account than that there God's name is blasphemed—that there the cry, 'To the lions!' is daily raised against us—that from thence persecuting decrees are wont to emanate and temptations are sent forth. What will you do if you are caught in that heaving tide of impious temptations? Not that any harm is likely to come to you there from men—nobody knows that you are a Christian; but think how it fares with you in heaven."

Tertullian in this connection forcibly contrasts the joys which the Christian gains with those that he gives up. "What is our desire but that of the apostle—to depart and be with Christ? While in this life, why not be content with those pleasures which God bestows? What more delightful than reconcili-

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[1] § 13.

ation with Him? the revelation of truth—the discovery of errors—the pardon of sin—a pure conscience—a blameless life? and a blissful hope of heaven? What a spectacle is that fast-approaching advent of our Lord, now owned by all, now highly exalted, triumphant now over all! What that exaltation of the angelic host! what the glory of the rising saints! what the kingdom of the just made perfect! what that city the New Jerusalem! Yes, and there are other sights: that last day of judgment, with its everlasting issues—that day unlooked for by the nations, the theme of their derision, when the world, hoary with age, and all its many products, shall be consumed in one vast conflagration!"

These are the scenes, even now present to our minds through faith, which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and which have not so much as dimly-dawned upon the human heart.

To Tertullian this subject appeared so important that he was desirous to extend his influence to those Christians whose mother-tongue was the Greek, and therefore he composed a treatise upon it in that language.

The selections from the works of Tertullian which make up this compilation are all apologetic, explanatory of the character of the Christians, and the unjust grievances and cruel persecutions to which they were subject. Many interesting traits of their personal character and religious faith and practice are developed, to which attention has been called. From the writings of our author a full detail of their domestic, social, civil, and religious life, with their rites of worship, their faith and practice, might be given, but they come not within the design and scope of these introductory notes. They should not, however, be closed without a passing remark upon the importance of these writings in establishing the authenticity and authority of the Scriptures, particularly of the four Gospels.

Tertullian, from an advocate of Paganism, became a powerful defender of the Christian truth and of the authority of the Scriptures.

"In his work against Marcion (book iv., chap. 5) he lays down the principle by which we should decide on the truth of the articles of the Christian faith, and especially of that most impor-

tant one of all, the authenticity of the apostolic writings. For this he makes the value of a testimony to depend on its antiquity, and decides that we are to hold that to be true for us which was held to be true in former ages. This appeal to antiquity leads us back to the apostles' day, and in deciding what is the authenticity of any writing which claims to be apostolic, we must refer to those churches which were planted by the apostles. I ask, then, is it creditable in any degree that this man, so sagacious, could have acted hastily and uncritically in accepting the credibility and authenticity of the four evangelists?"

Tertullian was an acute and learned scholar, a man of serious mind, whose faith and hope and the salvation of his soul depended on the truth of the Scriptures. These, called in question by Marcion, were defended by Tertullian. He asserts in the most express terms that in defending the apostolic origin of the four evangelists he rests his case upon the testimony of the apostolic churches. We must, then, be incorrigible skeptics to doubt that he had thoroughly examined for himself the origin of these Gospels.

He lived within a hundred years of the apostolic age, and had the best possible advantages for investigating the authenticity and divine authority of the Gospels. They were already translated into Latin and Syriac. Their number was defined to be four only, neither more nor less; and this remarkable fact is well calculated to throw light on the question of their age and origin. He quotes freely from the Old and the New Testaments. Several hundred passages, according to Tischendorf, are taken from the Gospels: *two hundred of these at least* are taken from St. John. Can this learned, acute, and scrupulous writer by any possibility be mistaken in resting his faith and hope on the divine authority of the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John? Such, in brief, is the argument for the authenticity and divine authority of these Gospels according to Tertullian.

NOTES.

NOTES.

[In the grammatical notes, H., A. & G., G., Madv., R., Z., denote the Latin grammars of Harkness, Allen & Greenough, Gildersleeve, Madvig, Roby, Zumpt; and M., March's Anglo-Saxon Grammar. The figures following refer to sections. The angle (>) is placed between two forms, one of which is derived from the other, the opening toward the older form.]

AD MARTYRES.

(SEE PAGE 156.)

ANALYSIS: The Christians who are in prison awaiting martyrdom are exhorted in Chapter I. to cherish the Holy Spirit, and to be at peace among themselves; (Chap. II.) to regard the prison as a place of refuge from temptation, of retirement for meditation, and (Chap. III.) for discipline; (Chap. IV.) to consider the body subordinate to the spirit, and—recalling the many examples of men and women who have undergone the most terrible bodily sufferings for glory or (Chap. V.) to gratify vanity, or (Chap. VI.) who have fallen victims to accident, to wild beasts, to robbers, to war, or who have suffered every thing for a party leader—to bear with patience the hardships and sufferings which may come upon them for the truth and for God.

CHAPTER I.

Page 9, line 1. Inter carnis alimenta: join with *capite*, the principal verb in the sentence. *Carnis;* objective genitive, stem caron. Compare L. Lat. *caronia*, French *charogne*, and Engl. *carrion*. See also H., 72, 3; G., 66; M., 46; and Crosby's Greek Grammar, 210.

benedicti martyres designati, *blessed martyrs elect.* Compare *consules designati, consuls elect.*

2. quae is object of *subministrant.*

domina mater ecclesia: *mater* is subject; the position of *domina* makes it emphatic. The power of the Church was already very great.

7. imo, from *imus, on the lowest side of,* on the contrary.

11. idiotae, *private persons;* here those not connected with the gladiatorial schools; Engl. *idiot,* comp. *idiom.*

de longinquo, *from a distance;* H., 425; A. & G., 55, 3; G., 388.

13-14. Ephes. iv., 3.

17. ita, *thus,* i. e., by remaining with you.

20. conculcetis < *con* + *calx.* See Gen. iii., 15.

21. dicat, subjunctive of command; H., 487; A. & G., 57, 3; G., 256.

22. meo (*regno*), ablative of place.

inediis, *privations;* others read *odiis.*

23. Fugiat governs *conspectum.*

24. in ima sua (domo), H., 441, 6; A. & G., 47, 8; G., 287, R.

Page 10, line 1. ut vos committat, that he may set you at strife with each other.

3. bellum est illi: G., 349, 1; H., 390, II., 2; A. & G., 51, 5.

Quam pacem quidam, etc. Those who were under discipline for heresy and other like offenses were accustomed to ask for the intercession of the martyrs in prison, and for advice and opinions in regard to their controversies with the Church. These deliverances had great weight with the Christians, and are said to have prepared the way for the indulgences of later ages.

6. si forte (fiat), H., 367, 3.

CHAPTER II.

8. impedimenta is subject; *deduxerint,* potential subjunctive.

9. quousque = *quo,* perhaps from an ancient *quom* (*quem*) + *usque; to which also* your kindred may have accompanied you. *Pa-*

rentes is often used for kindred. Perhaps, however, the author here uses the word in a more literal sense; as the young would embrace the new religion more readily, while the old (*parentes*), less susceptible to new impressions, would oppose it more vigorously.

10. segregati (by the good Shepherd). The word is used very often by Tert.

11. hoc, i. e., *quod segregati estis a mundo.*

12-14. si enim recogitemus, etc. For subjunctive in protasis and indicative in apodosis, see H., 511, 2; A. & G., 59, 2 and 4; G., 598.

14. Supply *potius* or *magis* before *quam.*

19-20. postremo, *lastly,* the last in a series; *denique, finally,* including the others in a series.

21. Quo: ablative of cause. Its antecedent is the preceding sentences.

22. custodiarium, *a guarded place;* a new word, introduced with hesitancy; *si forte* (*dicere liceat*).

23. sed lumen estis ipsi, *ye are the light of the world.*

24. Deo is dative of the agent. With the perfect participle, this dative designates the person who has done the act and to whom its results belong, the possessor. *Ye are made free by God, and are his freedmen;* H., 388, 2; A. & G., 51, 4, b, c; G., 352; Madv., 250, a. See 1 Cor. vii., 22, and John viii., 31–36.

25. Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. See also 1 Cor. vi., 2, 3.

26. contristetur is potential subjunctive.

27. illic, in the prison.

suspirat governs the accusative; H., 371, 3; A. & G., 52, 1, a; G., 329.

28. seculo is dative of disadvantage.

renuntiare means literally *to bring back news,* to reply to; hence, to renounce.

29. After **carceri** supply *renuntiat.*

Nihil: accusative of specification; H., 380, 2; A. & G., 52, 3, a; G., 331, 3. The subject of *interest* is *ubi sitis in seculo;* H., 556, and 408, 2; A. & G., 50, 4, d; G., 382.

31. amittere is subject of *est.*

Page 11, line 1. conversationem seculi, *life of the world.* Let your conversation be in heaven.

4. justa: in accordance with *jus;* lawful.

5. Agape, *love,* is one of the many words that Christianity brought from the Greek into the Latin. It is often applied to the love-feasts. The author here evidently has in mind the *alimenta quae singuli fratres,* etc. (Ch. I.).

8. ipsa commixtione: ablative of means; *by even mingling with them.*

nidoribus spurcis refers to the odors from the sacrifices.

12. scandalis: another Christian Latin word from the Greek; σκάνδαλον was for the older σκανδάληθρον, *the stick that set off the trap;* hence a snare for an enemy (Rom. xi., 9), a stumbling-block (Matt. xviii., 7; Luke xvii., 1); Engl. *scandal.*

14. Supply *praestabat* after *prophetis.* What prophets?

15. seculo, ablative of place from which.

16. cedo, meaning earlier *to go away from something,* as here afterward means *to leave to another, to cede.*

Gloriam, etc. The Transfiguration is referred to (Matt. xvii., 2).

17. Auferamus and *vocemus* are optative subjunctives. *Ab-* is changed to *au-* when compounded with *fero* and *fugio.*

18. Etsi is generally followed by the subjunctive. See on this subject, H., 516, III., and 507–512; A. & G., 62, 2; G., 606.

22. eam (viam), cognate accusative after *deambulaveris;* H., 317, 3; A. & G., 52, b; G., 331.

23. in nervo, "*in the fetter,*" probably referring to wooden stocks.

25. quo: perhaps from an ancient *quom,* i. e., *quem.*

Ubi autem erit. *Moreover, where your heart shall be, there will be your treasure also;* an inversion of Matt. vi., 21.

CHAPTER III.

28. Sit: potential subjunctive, H., 486, 2; A. & G., dubitative, 57, 6; G., 251.

29-30. iam tunc: *already, then;* mark the difference between *iam* and *nunc,* line 28.

30. sacramenti verba: *the words of the oath of allegiance* on enlisting in the army of Christ. *Sacramentum* was often applied to the oath taken by the Roman soldiers. See Trench on Words, p. 103. *Nemo* is an adjective.

32. de papilionibus *expeditis et substrictis*, from tents light and narrow. *Expeditis* < *ex* + *pes-*, means *free, easy;* hence, *easily moved*, light. *Papilio*, a butterfly, "type of a *pavilion*."

Page 12, line 3. deambulando is in like construction with *labore* and *incommodis*, ablatives of means. *Campum*, direct object of *decurrendo.*

6-8. de umbra: supply some such word as *eundo* to connect with *constant.* For *coelum* some read *gelum.*

10-14. agonem, *contest*, Engl. *agony*. *Agonothetes* is the superintendent, *xystarches* the master of a school of boxers; *brabium*, the prize; *politia*, citizenship (not used in Augustan Latin).

18. Nempe = *namque*. Other examples of the change of *qu* to *p* are found in the dialectic forms of *quis;* in the Greek πόθι, ποῦ, πόσος, etc., which correspond to Latin forms in *qu;* also in πέντε = *quinque*, ἵππος = *equus*, ἕπω = *sequor*, etc.

athletae = ἀθληταί. The Roman athletic sports were for the most part transferred from Greece. Nearly all the words applied to them are Greek. See above.

21-22. quanto and **tanto** are ablatives of difference; H., 418; A. & G., 54, 6, e; G., 400.

23. See 1 Cor. ix., 24.

27. duritia is ablative of means.

CHAPTER IV.

29. dominico praecepto: Matt. xvi., 40; Mark xiv., 38.

30. sit is potential subjunctive.

Page 13, line 1. quid cui *debeat subjectum*, the object of *ostenderet; that he might show which ought to be subject to which.*

3. eo, the spirit. *Colloquatur* is optative subjunctive.

6-8. crucem excelsam, *rabiem bestiarum*, etc., refer to the different ways in which Christians were put to death.

9-11. sibi and **carni** are indirect objects of *ponat*. The direct object is the clause, *that these things have been accepted*, etc.—**ista**, *those things* by you, here the kind of sufferings that awaited the martyrs whom he was addressing.—**multis** (heathen).—**animo**, ablative of manner; H., 414, 3; A. & G., 54, 7, b; G., 401.—**imo et ultro,** *nay*, *even voluntarily*.—**benedictae,** vocative.

13-14. Longum est—enumerem, H., 511, ii.; G., 598.

15. ad manum, *at hand;* a ready example.

17. castitati: indirect object of *pareret*.

Mucius *Scaevola*. See Classical Dictionary.

19. eius limits *factum*. It is a subjective genitive; H., 396, I.; A. & G., 50, 1; G., 360.

Minus: *less* than others, or *less* than might have been expected.

20. Heraclitus, *Peregrinus*, and *Empedocles* are in apposition with *philosophi*. Heraclitus of Ephesus lived in the fifth century B.C.; Empedocles was of Agrigentum. "Deus immortalis haberi dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam insiluit" (Horace, A. P., 464–6). The story is that having claimed divine power during life, he wished the people to infer from his sudden disappearance that he had gone to the gods. His brazen slipper, thrown up by a subsequent eruption of the volcano, was recognized by the people, and showed what had become of him.

Peregrinus *Proteus* was born at Pavium in the second century. In early life he was noted for his vices. Afterward he professed Christianity, and almost obtained martyrdom for his pretended zeal. After having been dismissed from prison by the governor of Syria, and excommunicated from the Church, he traveled about as a Cynic philosopher, making himself notorious by his eccentricities and crimes. He ended his career by throwing himself on a funeral-pile at the Olympic games.

23. contempserint is subjunctive of cause or reason; H., 517; A. & G., 63; G., 587.

24. Dido and *uxor* are in apposition with *feminae;* H., 363, 4.

virum: *Aeneas*, according to Virgil; but rather *Acerbàs*, i. e., Sychaeus. See Class. Dict.

26. videret: subjunctive of time and cause; H., 518, II.; A. & G., 62, 2, e; G., 586, R.

27. filiis: ablative of accompaniment; H., 414, 7; A. & G., 54, 6, a; G., 391.

30. compensari, *to be weighed with*, to be exchanged for.—**et in arcae genus,** etc., *and having been crowded into a kind of chest on all sides from without pierced by nails.*

32. femina is used generically, *woman.*

Page 14, line 1. aspides is governed by *appetiit* understood.

4. meretrix: Leaena, the mistress of Aristogīton, tortured by Hippias. See account of Aristogiton, Harmodius, and Hippias in Class. Dict.

6-7. et . . . et, *both . . . and.*—**novissime,** *finally.*—**commestam,** past participle from *comedo.* The more common form is *comesus.*

8. scirent, subjunctive of purpose; *that they might know* that tortures moved her not at all. Why is *se* and not *eam* used after *agere?*

11. The subject of *latet* is *nam quod,* etc.—**sacro** (*ritu*).

12. nobiles quique adolescentes, *young men, all high-born.*

17. gloriae, partitive genitive limiting *tantum*, the subject of *licet.*

22. tanti and **quanti** are genitives of price; H., 402, III.; A. & G., 54, 8, a; G., 378–9.

CHAPTER V.

24. gloriae, genitive of specification; H., 396, V.; A. & G., 50, 1, f; G., 359.

29. morsibus and *cicatricibus* are ablatives of cause with *de;* H., 414, II., 3.

31. tunica ardente. The burning tunic was used in torturing the Christians. It was covered with pitch and bitumen, and lighted.

Page 15, line 2. sed (haec admisit) *ad nos*, etc.

3. illo die, ablative of time; *the day* of judgment.

4. in salutem denotes limit, *unto safety.*

CHAPTER VI.

6. Venientis qualifies *constantiae*, which in turn limits *exempla*.

7. affectatione is ablative of source with *venientis*.

13. latronibus ferro. The first of these is ablative of agent, commonly used with *at;* the second is ablative of means. See H., 414, 4–5; A. & G., 56, 4, and R.; G., 403.

15. nemo non = every one, while *non nemo* = some one.

16. ad hoc refers to the preceding proposition.

17. quantae refers to number, *quales* to character.

18. inopinatos agrees with *exitus*, and is limited by the ablatives of reason, *natalibus*, etc.

20. pro eo. How does *pro* with the ablative differ from the dative? The persons alluded to here are the emperor Septimius Severus and his adversaries, Didius Julianus, Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, and others. See Class. Dict., and Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. v.

DE TESTIMONIO ANIMAE.

(For Contents, see Pages 157–158.)

CHAPTER I.

Page 16, lines 1-16. Magna curiositate . . . admisimus. It needs great research to collect from the heathen classics attestations of Christian truth; but some scholars have done it, so that we can show that there is nothing new in our rejection of error or acceptance of right.

4. doctrinae: governed by *magistrorum*.

6. eius, i. e., *veritatis*.—**suo instrumento,** i. e., their own literature.

7. et erroris, et iniquitatis, *both of untruthfulness toward themselves, and*, etc.

17+. Sed ne . . . nisi iam Christianus. But such is the hardness of men that they reject the authority of all their masters when it is seen to favor Christianity. We will, therefore, pass by the great writers, pagan and Christian.

18. de incredulitate *duritia*, *incredulous hardness*.

20. impingunt, *touch upon*, *introduce* topics favorable to Christianity.

22. duri, *rude*, stupid.

23. prope Christianum. One may utter thought which is almost Christian, and still be held wise; but if he acts upon it and rejects the customs of the world, he will be branded as a Christian.

Page 17, line 2. perversae felicitatis, *of perverted excellence*, since confidence is placed in the false part of it rather than the true.

3. Viderint, *they may see to it*, i. e., it is their business—we will lay no stress on it.

5. relatum sit in the heathen writers.

6. possit, that the objector *may not be able to reproach us.*

7. constare confidunt, *trust that it is true.*

9-21. Novum testimonium . . . capacissimum. I call a new and greater witness. Stand forth, O Soul, whatever thou art, and testify.

11. agitatius: the comparative of *agitatus* is used by Quintilian in the sense of *livelier*, *more animated* (action); here, perhaps, *more discussed.*—**editione,** *publication.*

12. id est, *that is to say.*

17. seu numeris, seu atomis concinnaris. See under *Pythagoras*, *Epicurus*, in Smith's Class. Dict.

21+. Sed non eam . . . detineant. But I do not call on thee as cultivated by philosophy or Christianity, but simple as thou art found on the highways and in the shops. Tell us what thou knowest innately or hast learned from thy Maker.

24. idioticam: compare Trench on Words, p. 84.

Page 18, line 1. ab extranea, i. e., from thee *a stranger* to Christians.—**vel tibi,** even before thee.

2. te consciam detineant, *affect thee as an accomplice.*

CHAPTER II.

4-15. Non placemus . . . videaris. We declare that there is one God; thou too every where utterest expressions which recognize Him, and which deny the divinity of Saturn, Jupiter, and the rest.

4. praedicantes agrees with the subject of *placemus* and governs *deum.*

8. Quod deus dederit, *Which may God grant*, a common ejaculation.

15. pro mutuo, *as a loan* you seem using the word.

15-27. De natura . . . nos confiteris. Thou knowest the nature of God, as good and almighty.

27+. Sunt qui . . . efficit Christianorum. There are some who deny that God is ruler, searcher, or judge, but thou even in the presence of demons testifiest that he is all these.

27. Sunt qui, the Epicureans. Compare Bacon's essay on Atheism.

29. ad istam disciplinam, *to this discipleship*—to Christianity.

Page 19, line 9. tantum autorem, *so great an author*—one who has so nobly endowed the soul.

17. de conscientia, *from thy own consciousness.*

28. daemonia, *demons*, e. g., Ceres, Saturn, Isis, Juno, Aesculapius; see ch. iii.

CHAPTER III.

Common speech bears witness that there are demons, and Satan, an angel of evil.

31. exigimus. This is a claim that the Christians of Tertullian's time cast out devils. See Apol., ch. xxiii., xliii.

32. Chrysippi assentator, some disciple of Chrysippus, i. e., some affector of subtleties. See, for *assentator*, Trench on Words, p. 67.

Page 20, line 1. esse et sustinere, thy curses reply that the demons *exist and excite abomination.*

2. immunditia: ablative of cause.

12. traducem, *channel of propagation.*

14. (est) **apud dominum,** is *with the Lord*, on his side.

CHAPTER IV.

16-32. Iam nunc . . . nostra praesumptio. After this life comes a day of judgment, another life, and a resurrection of the body. This most noble, complete, and worthy view is held to be folly, but we have thy support.

16. necessariorem, an opinion *more intimately related* to thy well-being.

17. in quantum et, *inasmuch also as* it bears on thy condition itself.

20. refrigerio, *cooling;* hence, in warm countries, *happiness, refreshment.*

21. quibus, bliss or woe.

25. exhibitione, *presentation* before the judge.

32+. Primo enim . . . adscriptum. You call the dead "poor man!" as devoted to punishment.

Page 21, lines 3-13. Ceterum . . . vivis. You sometimes call the dead *secure,* but that is at your feasts in honor of the dead, where it would never do to reproach them.

14-17. Quid . . . tormentum. Why do you curse the dead who have offended you?

17-19. Aeque . . . cupis. So you bless the dead.

19+. Si nihil . . . ut timeas. If there is no feeling after death, why fear it? it ends the toils of life, and they outweigh its joys. The dread is of something after death.

Page 22, lines 4-6. Omittamus . . . non potest. We pass by the natural form of fearing death. Compare Bacon's Essay on Death. "Men fear death as children fear to go into the dark."

6-23. Ex altera parte . . . reverti debet. The desire of posthumous fame is a testimony of the soul for immortality.

7. congredior, *I go on* with the discussion of a more joyful hope.

20. hoc: the resurrection.

22. prae manu, off-hand.—**abiit.** This is the common ejaculation.

23. iam et reverti debet is argumentative: *then he may be expected to come back.*

CHAPTER V.

24+. Haec testimonia . . . dedit nosse. These testimonies of the soul have the authority of nature and God, who is the master and teacher of the soul.

Page 23, line 8. adversario, Satan.

11-16. Sed qui . . . sermocinandi. There is one who does not think these utterances of the soul to be expressions of innate knowledge; he will say that the habit of speaking thus has been learned from books.

16-32. Certe . . . exceperat. The soul was before letters. How could letters know what no mind had conceived or ear received?

20. huiusmodi: about God, death, hell.

29. Mercurius, the god of letters.

32+. At enim . . . callositatem. The divine Scriptures are the most ancient books, and from them light has flowed into other books. So that it is all one whether the soul's knowledge is direct from God or through the Book.

Page 24, line 2. in quorum oleastro, Rom. xi., 17.

4. ut loco suo edocuimus, Apol., ch. xix.

19. homo: vocative. Why, then, do you wish to make out, O man, that these expressions have gone out from the human opinions of your writings into the hardening of common use?

CHAPTER VI.

17-26. Crede . . . negligis. Trust your books and ours more. Trust the soul most; in her God and nature speak, and they never lie. Your soul is all in all to you.

26+. Cum enim times . . . aut didicit? Since you fear to become a Christian, ask the soul why she uses all these Christian phrases?

Page 25, lines 1-3. Suspectam habe . . . conversationis. Scrutinize this accordance of phrase in such discordance of act.

3-5. Vanus es . . . universitatem. You are foolish to attribute the agreement to the kinship of the Greek and Latin languages, and deny a universal nature.

6-13. Non Latinis . . . testimonium ubique. The soul is one,

man is one among all nations; God is every where, and demons, and death, and the testimony of the soul.

14. quae nobis nec mutire conceditur, *to whisper which is not permitted to us* (Christians).

18. requirebas, *sought to know* (Him).

APOLOGETICUS.

(For Contents, see Pages 159–165.)

Caption.—Apologeticus, i.e. *Liber*. It is so called by Jerome, and in most editions; *adversus gentes*, *contra gentes*, and *pro Christianis* are sometimes added. Most of the manuscripts, however, have *Apologeticum* or *Apologeticon*, used substantively, like *Satyricon*. Eusebius and other Greek writers cite it as Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν.

CHAPTER I.

You are persecuting you know not what, and what indeed such evidence as comes before you proves to be unworthy of the treatment.

Page 26, line 1. antistites, *presiding officers*, presidents; here probably the Proconsul of Africa with his associated officers, though many make it general, *magistrates of the empire of Rome.* When Octavian assumed the imperial power he permitted the phantom of the republic to subsist. The administration of the earlier conquests of the Romans he left to the Senate, which deputed Africa and Asia only to ex-consuls. The frontier provinces, with the command of the armies, the emperor reserved to himself, his deputies being called *legati* (lieutenants).

2. fere vertice civitatis, *almost the highest position in the state;* some say *the summit of the town*—Byrsa.

4. liquido: jurid. for *in liquido loco*, or *liquido modo esse*, apparare, constare liquido, to be, exist, be substantiated on a clear basis = to be the real truth.—**caussa:** jurid., *process*, suit, action. —**ad,** *in reference to.*

5. species: jurid., *special case*, the trial of Christians.—**de justitiae diligentia,** *with the diligence belonging to justice; de* denot-

ing originally the "*terminus a quo*," passes easily to the notion of causality, manner, accompanying circumstances, etc.

7. denique: Z., 727; Madv., 434.—**domesticis . . . infestatio,** *the vexations exercised against this sect by private judgments. sectae* is the objective genit. governed by *infestatio.* These *domestica judicia* are strictly the judgments pronounced by the father on his son, by the husband on the wife (disinheritance in the former, divorce in the latter case) for embracing Christianity, then judgments in the imperial household and by the inferior tribunals.

9. vel: Z., 734; Andr. Dict., II.

10. illa: sc. veritas.—**de caussa,** *on account of* the accusation.

11. deprecari, *to make appeals*, a technical term of the rhetoricians to indicate the conciliatory language of the exordium; the verba ad captandum.

12. agere = agere vitam = vivere; Heb. xi., 13; Pet. i., 2, 11.

14. gestire: *verba desiderandi* are followed by accus. with inf. or *ut* with a subj.; if the obj. clause is negative, by *ne.*

16. legibus: dat. of personal object.—**dominari,** *to rule absolutely.* Tertullian seems to censure here the arbitrary measures against the Christians in the imperial rescripts, which act after all as they please in their "domain."—**an** = *or not,* after a question; it indicates that the answer can not be doubtful; Z., 353; H., 526; G., 459, 462; A. & G., 742.

17. hoc magis, *the more. hoc* is here the ablative of the excess, like the Germ. "*desto,*" or the Engl. "*the*" before a comparative; H., 418; G., 400; A. & G., 54, e; Z., 487; M., 374, 6.

20. alicuius conscientiae is here pregnant for *conscientiae se esse iniquas vel injustas.*—**nolentes:** Z., 635. *nolentes* is here equal to *quamdoquidem audire nolunt.*

23. erga, denoting in the classical writers a friendly disposition, is in the post-Augustine writers used in a hostile sense—*against;* Z., 299.

24. titulus, *pretense,* pretext (post-Augustine); jurid., *proces-verbal.*

Page 27, line 3. cognoscitur, an. We should expect *eam mereri;* but the judicial inquiry being prominent in Tertullian's mind, he naturally follows with *an.*

5. **eventu,** *from the fact* of there existing an aversion.

9. **redarguo:** *re* denotes here not an opposition, but a returning backward—to argue back inversely.

11. **testimonium . . . odisse:** proof of ignorance exists, since all cease to hate.

13. **retro:** a favorite term of Tertullian for *olim, antea.*

14. **simul ut:** less common for *simul atque.*

15. **de comperto,** *from it being known* = simul ac compererunt.

17. **tanti** = tot, frequent in Tertullian.

20. **detrimento:** ablative of cause.

25. **quanto:** ablative of excess; Z., 487; G., 400; H., 418; A. & G., 54, e.—**quanto magis . . . musicis.** Construe, "Quanto magis hos Anacharsis denotasset imprudentes, qui de prudentibus judicarent, quam olim hos immusicos denotaverat, qui de musicis judicaverunt." Diogenes Laertius reports, in his life of Anacharsis, that the Scythian philosopher was much astonished that among the Greeks the artists were judged by those who were not artists.

30. **quando,** *because.*

31. **si vero de merito constet** = si vero odii debitum de merito esse: *if it should be substantiated that the guilt implied in the hatred rest on good ground,* on merits—i. e., is deserved.

Page 28, line 2. inquit, *says* an objector.

5. **Quis negat?** The apologist answers.

11. **dinumerant,** *they count up* (their sins) *against themselves;* others, *they commune among themselves.*—**semetipsos,** often printed as separate words: *semet ipsos.*

13. **Christianos,** nothing similar affects (*agitat*) Christians; others read *Christian-us,* or *-is,* or *-orum.*

17. **Quid hoc mali est,** *what sort of evil is this?*

20. **votum,** an *object prayed* for.

22. **revinceris ignorare,** *art convicted of being ignorant.*

CHAPTER II.

Even if we are ever so criminal, we should be placed on a level with other criminals; but in dealing with us you reverse every rule of justice and custom.

24. pares: here subst., *equals.*

25. cum . . . deberet, *whereas;* Germ., *da doch.*

26. Quodcunque . . . dicuntur: *dicere, to name, proclaim;* here with the pregnant meaning *to accuse.*

27. advocatione: abstr. *legal assistance,* for the concrete *advocatus,* a legal assistant. *Advocatus* in the earlier Latin meant one called by one of the parties to aid him either as witness or counsel; in the later Latin it is used for *patronus,* advocate, attorney, who conducted the process for any one.

29. respondendi, altercandi: technical terms of the court; *respondere* is to reply to the charges, *altercari* to put questions to the opposing party.—**quando,** *because.*

31. Christianis nihil permittitur loqui. The dat. of the personal object in Latin verbs can never become a nominat. in the passive construction: *permitto tibi,* I permit to you; pass., *permittitur tibi a me; permittor,* like the Engl. *I am permitted,* would be barbarous.—**quod purget,** etc.: relative clause of intention = *ut;* Z., 567; H., 500; G., 634; A. & G., 64, 1.

Page 29, line 3. quando, *since.* The intervening thought is, *an unjust proceeding in our case,* since.

4. confesso eo nomen depends on *contenti; confesso* is past part. of *confiteor.* The want of a noun, or a desire to avoid the accumulation of oblique cases often makes the Latin writer prefer a participle construction: instead of our *you are not contented with his confession of the name,* he prefers to say, *with him having confessed the name.*

6. elogiis: judicial statement of the crime, *indictment.*

7. consequentia, *attending circumstances.*

8. numerum, *the number*—i. e., how often.

9. De nobis nihil tale, sc. fit vel agitur.

10. infanticidia: here concrete; *murdered infants.*

12. coci = coqui, *cooks* of the infernal meals.—**canes:** compare ch. vii.: "canes eversores luminum."

13. eruo, *discover.*

15. Plinius consuluit: Plin., Epist. x., 96.—**cum provinciam regeret:** he was Proconsul of Asia.

17. gradu pulsis, *driven from their firm position;* probably made to recant. Comp. Nepos, Them. v., 1.

22. ut deo: Pliny has *quasi deo,* another reading is *et deo.*—**ad confoederandam disciplinam:** to fortify by covenants their religious tenets; to show the unity of their faith by coming together in religious meetings.

24. rescribere, *to write back* a judicial decision. The *rescripta imperatorum* became part of the Roman law.

25. hoc genus inquirendos: Z., 366.—**oblatos,** *offere;* jurid., *to bring before* the bar.

26. confusam: where right and wrong is mingled.

27. Negat inquirendos: sc. Christianos esse.

29. Quid temetipsam censura circumvenis? others, *Quid temetipsum,* etc.; the former, *Why, O judgment, dost thou evade thyself?* the latter, *Why* (O emperor) *do you evade yourself by this decision?* The evasion consisted in his not following the plain dictates of justice. Either Christianity was a crime, and then it should be examined into and punished as such; or it was not, and then it should be tolerated. But there were laws against *hetaeriae,* or forbidden societies, which Trajan wished to evade by writing to Pliny: "Conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit;" i. e., supplicando Diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum, veniam ex poenitentia impetret.

31. Latronibus vestigandis: dat. of purpose, Z., 664.

32. sortitur: pass. of *sortio, to appoint by lot;* are distributed.—**maiestatis,** for *criminis laesae maiestatis,* crime against the sovereign power—high-treason. *Maiestas* was originally applied to the Roman people; by Tiberius, to his person as tribune.

Page 30, line 3. inquiri non licet: H., 299; G., 535; A. & G., 70, 3, c; Z., 608.—**quasi aliud esset actura:** *agere aliquid,* to aim at, drive at. For *esset actura,* see Zumpt, 498.

4. damnatis: pres. indicative.

7. in illo, *in that case.*

8. ex forma, according to the usual manner of.

14. admittere, *perpetrate,* become guilty of.

15. scientes = quamvis sciatis.

16. quo perversius: connect with *cogitis; quo* is ablative of excess: *how much* more perversely.

23. laniari: iubere depends on *soletis, laniari* on *iubere.*

24. circa nos, *about us,* in our case; frequent in Tertullian.

26. perseverare: supply the subject, *nos.*

30. praesides: plural of *praeses.*

Page 31, line 4. ne qua: *quis* instead of *aliquis* is usually employed after *ne, num, si, nisi,* the relatives, and *quum. Aliquis* is more emphatic than *quis.*—**suspicio,** like a verb of fear, takes *ne.* —**quae ministret:** relat. with subj. *talis, ut,* such as to; *ministro* here causative, *to make you ministers,* tools, to direct, set against. The power suggested is Satan.

6. leges malos erui iubent: verbs of commanding are followed by *ut* with subj., except *iubeo* and *veto,* which take the accus. with inf.

7. eruere, *to bring to light.*

9. imperium, *sovereign power.*

10. Civilis: limited by the *jus civile,* or in general a limited power, not a *tyrannica,* i. e., an absolute one.

12. temperare, *to restrain;* tortures *are limited* to the *questio,* or inquisition for guilt.

13. illis, *in reference to them,* namely, the torments.—**servate:** for *observate.*

14. praeveniantur: the subj. is *tormenta.*

15. expungere: a familiar expression of Tertullian; properly, *to erase* from a list of points, to check off, to dismiss.—**debito:** dat. of purpose or end, for the obligation.—**poenae:** gen. of quality of expiation, i. e., for their expiatory obligation; i. e., to pay their penal obligation.

17. quisquam is usually substantive, and employed in negative sentences.

22. Vis ergo neget. *Velle* is followed by accus. with inf., by the inf., by *ut* with subj., and by the mere subj.

24. de praeterito, *in reference to the past.*

25. ut etiam . . . recogitetis. A sentence with *ut,* like the accus. with inf., is used in Latin to express a question or exclamation of indignation. We may supply *qui fit* (how does it happen, that), or *mirum est* (strange, that).

26. vel ne: this *ne* depends on *recogitetis.* Notice that this verb in the preceding clause is followed by an accus. with inf.; here by the interrog. particle *ne.*

27. non ex fide = non ex bona fide = mala fide.

28. aemulatione: often used by Tertullian for *malevolence,* hostility.

29. in omnibus, *in every respect.*

30. id unum contendendo: ablative of cause; *by aiming at this alone.*

Page 32, line 2. quaedam ratio aemulae operationis, *a certain system of envious working* (kingdom of darkness).

3. hoc agens, *striving for;* Z., 614; Andr. Dict., *ago,* III., 7.

5. et nolunt inquiri . . . credi esse, *and will not that it should be inquired into, lest things should be proved not to be which they rather wish should be believed to be.*

10. nominis proelium: *nominis,* obj. gen., *for a name.*

11. tabella, *indictment.* Christianum, predic., *as a Christian.*

15. pronuntiare, *to report;* nominibus scelerum, *with the specification of our crimes.*

17. solius nominis: gen. possess. after *esse;* to belong to, to be attached to.

CHAPTER III.

Your hatred to us is so blind that it gives involuntary testimony to our merits. You use *Christian* as a name for the good and wise, and the reformed. It is good in its origin, in the sect, and its founder.

18. Quid? quod: elliptic for *quid dicam quod:* what shall I say? that—

19. impingunt, *strike,* rush; *odium eius: eius* is objective.

21. Caius, a proper name used by the Romans to name a per-

son indefinitely.—**tantum quod,** *only that*, frequent with Tertullian. We might supply *tantum piget, quod est*, etc.: it is only a pity that.

27. eo quod, *with that, which.*

28. ex ipso, *in consequence of the very thing*, quo, *on account of which.*

31. suffragium, *vote, approbation.* Supply with the expressions of *quae mulier . . . amasius, fuit olim*, or *retro.*

Page 33, line 2. imputatur, *is applied to*, made tantamount with improvement of character.

3. de utilitatibus suis paciscuntur cum odio: at the expense of (de) their private advantages (see Dict., prep. *de*, C.) they bargain, i. e., they exchange their private advantages for their hatred.

4. dum ne, *dum modo, dummodo, if only, if but*, express an intention or purpose conceived by the mind; govern therefore the subj., and when joined with a negation, take therefore *ne.*

5. iam non, *no longer.*

7. abdicavit: jurid., *to renounce a son, to expel* and *disinherit.*

8. ut quisque, *as any one*, i. e., in proportion as any one. *ut quisque* is mostly followed by superlative, and in the following clause by *ita* with superlative, when it may be rendered by *the more . . . the more; ita* may be wanting, and other degrees may replace the superlative.

9. Tanti . . . quanti: gen. of price. Supply *pretii.*

12. nisi si. After negations and interrogations *nisi* means *except; nisi si, except if, unless.*—**sonat barbarum,** Z., 383, n. i.; H., 371, 3, 2; G., 331; R., 2; A. & G., 52, 3.

14. quantum, *as far.*

15. Chrestianus: from χρηστός. The η of this word and the ι of Χριστός sound nearly alike. See, further, Trench on the Study of Words, p. 75.

19. At enim, *But certainly.* See Dict., under *at*, II., 2, b.

20. Quid novi: *novi* gen. after the substantive pronoun *quid;* what is there strange?

28. transmissa agrees with *professio.*—**si qui** and *si quis* are perfectly equivalent; Z., 136.

CHAPTER IV.

I will now refute and retort your charges; but first let us examine the nature of the laws whose authority you urge against us. Laws are often bad and repealed.

Page 34, line 5. adeo, *thus far.*—**suggillandam,** *to mark by spots,* stigmatize. See Dict.

7. consistam, *to take a firm footing,* term of the gladiators; *de caussa, from* or *on the plea.*

9. in Christianis, *among Christians,* non esse. Supply *scelera.*

11. non dico: intercalary; *I do not say.*—**pessimi** is modified by *accusantes,* which latter governs *optimos* and *compares.*

14. illos, our accusers.

15. in quibus: *in,* denoting situation, may pass over to the idea of being affected with, chargeable with.

16. ad omnia, *in reference to all* (charges).

19. post leges, *after the laws,* i. e., after they once had spoken. —**nihil** is subject of *retractandum esse.*—**ingratis:** contracted from *ingratiis,* ablative of *ingratia; without one's thanks,* i. e., *unwillingly.*—**necessitas obsequii,** *an inevitable duty of obedience.*

20. concurram, *dispute:* quam dure definitis, *how harshly do you enact.*

22. esse vos, *that you exist.*

23. retractatu, *hesitation.*

24. ex arce: arx, *citadel* of tyrants, here used for *despotism;* arising from, based on a mere despotism.

25. si ideo . . . non licere, *if you deny* (Christianity) *to be lawful because you wish it to be unlawful, not because it ought to be.*

26. Quodsi, *If then;* Z., 807.

30. ex illo praeiudicio, *in consequence of this previous conclusion.* —**nonne non potest?** *is it not powerless?*

31. prohibere in earlier Latin takes the accus. of the person, and the ablative, with or without *a* or *ab,* of the thing; in this clause supply after *me* the ablative *ab hoc,* and after *prohiberet* the dative *mihi,* translating *prohibere* by *restrain* and *prohiberet* by *forbid.*

Page 35, line 5. indicarit de, *to determine concerning* himself by starvation.

9. Papias leges: the lex Papia inflicted with legal disadvantages childless couples when the husband had reached the twenty-fifth and the wife her twentieth year. The lex Julia permitted to the *sponsatis* a postponement of marriage.—Tacit., Ann., iii., 25.

15. notam, *a brand*, a disgracing censure.

16. bonorum adhibita, etc.: the application of confiscating the property would rather pour the blood in blushes (*in vultum*) over his face than pour it out.

23. facta, *facts* . . . **de solo nomine,** *on the ground of the mere name;* defendunt, *prosecute;* probata, *proved.*

31. quale sit quod ulciscitur, *what kind of a crime it is which it punishes.*

32. conscientiam, *consciousness*, or conviction.

CHAPTER V.

Against us they have been enforced only by emperors whose memory you yourselves execrate.

Page 36, line 5. ne qui, adjective; *ne quis*, substantive.

6. Scit, *Knows this well* in reference, etc. The allusion is unknown. See, however, Adv. Marc., i., 18.

7. Facit ad, *To be good for*, to be of service for.

12. annuntiatum, *the information*, which revealed.

14. praerogativa suffragii, *with a token of his approval.* The apocryphal acts of Pilate, alluded to here by Tertullian, are improbable. For Tiberius (Suet., Tib., 36), *Judaicos ritus compescuit*, ch. lxix.: *Circa deos negligentior*, *quippe addictus mathematicae*, *plenusque persuasionis omnia fato agi.* The silence of contemporary Roman historians is inexplicable. Moreover, the Roman Senate was too servile to oppose any measure of Tiberius.

18. cum maxime, *very especially.* See Dict., i., s. v. quum, i. e. cum; Tacit., Annal., xv., 44.

21. non nisi, *only.*

23. portio Neronis, *a semi-Nero*, a chip of the old block; he

is elsewhere (Pall., iv.) called by Tertullian *Subnero*, and by Juvenal (iv., 37) *Calvus Nero.*—**de crudelitate,** *in reference to cruelty.*

24. qua, sc. proportione, *in what proportion, in how far* he was also man (i. e., not a Nero).—**restitutis,** sc. iis.

28. exinde principibus. An adverb may qualify a noun in Latin when the latter has verbal significance: principibus = imperantibus.

30. edite: imperative, *quote,* or *cite.*

Page 37, line 2. impetrato militum precationibus imbri. See Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. xvi.; Gieseler, Eccles. Hist., p. 127, n. 10.

4. dimovit, *abrogate;* dispersit, *scatter*, dilute, attenuate, neutralize.

12. impressit, here *to press upon, emphasize, enforce;* compare the adverb *impresse,* forcibly. Others say, *stamped, sealed, ratified.*—**Facilius . . . optimis quibusque:** for *quisque* with a superlative, see Dict., s. v. *quisque;* H., 458, 1; G., 305; A. & G., 17, 5, c.—**aemulis,** *enemies;* from the idea of rivalry the transition to that of enmity is easy.

CHAPTER VI.

And you are in daily practice of infringing contemptuously laws of all kinds.

16. respondeant: H., 551, II., 2, 2; G., 546, R. 3; A. & G., 57, 4, c.—**velim:** Z., 524; vellem, *I should wish* (but in fact I do not wish, seeing that it would not be of avail); velim, *I may wish* = volo, *I do wish.*

18. si a nullo: for *si,* see Dict., s. v. *si,* II.

19. aptissima quaeque: H., 458, 1; G., 305; A. & G., 17, 5, c.

22. amplius: H., 417, 3; G., 311, R., 4; A. & G., 54, 5, c.—**subscribi,** *to grant,* from signing (*subscribing*) a document.

24. decem pondo argenti, *ten pounds of silver; pondo* is the ablative, meaning *in weight.* After *decem* supply *libras.* See Z., 87.

25. pro magno titulo, *by virtue of the great* (serious) *reason* (accusation).

26. moribus stuprandis: H., 564, 2; G., 430, R.; A. & G., 73, 3, b.

27. natalium, *lineage;* honestorum, *honorable, noble.*

29. centenarias, *centenarian;* so called, not from the hundred asses expended on them (see above), but from the hundred sestertia.

30. parum est: H., 475, 4, 1; G., 246, R. 1; A. & G., 60, 2, c. —**senatorum:** supply *in lances* or *in usum.*

31. vel adhuc rumpentium flagra: or of those who even yet break the whips, i. e., on whose backs whips are broken—i. e., slaves.

32. producta: technically *to draw out, lengthen out,* e. g., by hammering; *to work into.*

Page 38, line 1. nuda, sc. *velis,* awnings, *unsheltered.*

2. odium, *scandalous practice,* the scandalous woolen cloaks.

7. norat = noverat; praeter, adv., *except.*

8. unico: supply *in.*

10. sui is the subj. of the clause; *her own people,* friends. Comp. Germ. *die Ihrigen.*

11. Sub with ablative denotes contemporaneous time.

17. prae often denotes *on account of* (an obstacle).

22. Liberum patrem . . . eliminaverunt: see Livy, xxxix., 8.

25. cynocephalo, Anubis.—**Capitolio prohibitos inferri:** *Capitolio* is the dat., depending on *inferri.*

28. abdicaverunt, *reject,* banish.

29. superstitionum: gen. of source arising from.—**vos:** subject, *his;* dat. governed by *contulistis.*

31. instructu, *manner of living.*

32. sensu, *views;* Germ. *Anschauung.*

Page 39, line 1. de die, *starting with the day, every day.*—**nove,** *in a new style.*

5. Ipsum adhuc, *the very thing even.*

6. in quo, *in which* place or point.

7. destinatis, *determine,* define, charge.

8. licet, *although.*

10. furias, *licentious orgies.*—**suo loco,** *in its proper place.* See ch. xiii., etc.

CHAPTER VII.

To come to the horrible charges you bring against us, have you any better evidence than rumor?

15. de, *in consequence.* The Christians were said at their sacramental meetings to kill an infant, to eat (*inde*) thereof, and to indulge in promiscuous intercourse under the cover of darkness, dogs, as pimps, being taught to overturn the candles.

18. inverecundia, *by the license arising from,* etc.

21. dissimulatione in later Latin = *neglect.*

22. praescribitur: jurid., *to take an exception, to object.*

25. Census with Tertullian is often *origin.*—**disciplinae:** philosophical; here, *religious system.*

26. Cum odio sui, *with hatred against it;* proverbial, *Veritas odium parit.*—Terence.

27. esse, *to be regarded.*

28. aemulatione, *from rivalry;* proprii, *special enemies.*

29. concussione: jurid., *extortion* by violence or threats; French, *concussion.*

32. opprimimur, *to fall upon,* surprise.

Page 40, line 1. Cyclopum: allusion to Polyphemus, in the Odyssey, who feasted on human flesh. The Sirens are associated because women participated in these suppositious unnatural feasts of the Christians.

3. uxoribus, Christian wives of heathen husbands.

4. vendidit: namely, the *facinora* (for a reward).

7. ex forma, *from the very nature of the thing.*

12. sequitur ut: supply sint.

16. Fama . . . ullum, Virg., Aen., iv., 174.

23. ubi = alicubi.

24. res, *fact.*

31. Omnium est aestimare . . . constructa: comp. the parallel passage, Ad Nat., i., 7: "Fama, quantacumque ambitione diffusa est, ab uno aliquando ore exorta sit, necesse est," *It is within the reach of every one to consider that, with however great a zeal it has been spread, it must have sprung at some time from one source, whence it must creep into the propagators of it.*

Page 41, line 3. modici seminis vitium, *a blemish of a little seed;* appos. gen., *a blemish,* which is but a little seed.

4. ne, *whether.*

6. arbitrio, *arbitrary decision.*

7. Bene autem: supply *est.*

CHAPTER VIII.

The charges are against nature, and incredible. Nor can it be credited that converts join in ignorance, and afterward keep the secret.

16. fidem naturae, *the trustworthy testimony of nature,* i. e., I appeal to human nature as, etc.

20. tanti habere, *to regard it of so high a value;* verba aestimandi take the genitive of an adjective and the ablative of a substantive.

22. omnium filium: allusion to the alleged promiscuous intercourse.

25. eo: ablative of *is,* referring to *sanguinem.*

28. Piaculum, *sin.*

29. talia: H., 380; G., 332; A. & G., 52, 3.

31. si tanti aeternitas: supply *sit, whether,* etc.—**aut si non,** *or if not,* then (I want you to say) these, etc.

32. etiamsi credideris . . . posse: supply before *velle* and *posse, haec facere.*

Page 42, line 1. Cur possint: subj., dubit; Z., 530; H., 486; G., 248; A. & G., 57, 6.

2. Alia nos natura: sc. *sumus; natura,* ablative of quality.

3. cynopaene: *ne* is here the interrogative particle. Supply *sumus. Cynopae* = κυνῶπαι, *having the face of a dog;* others read *Cynocephanes,* i. e., κυνο-φανής, or *Cynocephali.*—**sciapodes:** see Dict.

6. quod et Christianus, *what also the Christian is.*—**non debes credere:** sc. alios hoc facere.

8. Sed ignorantibus: this is an objection of the imaginary opponent of Tertullian.

10. observandum qualifies *tale.*

11. Atquin: answer of Tertullian; *and yet.*—**moris est:** H., 401, 2; G., 365; A. & G., 50, 1, c.

12. patrem sacrorum: the ἱεροφάντης.

13. describere = ut describat; H., 553, V.; G., 424; A. & G., 57, 8, f.—**necessarius:** supply *erit;* nesciat, rideat, H., 501; G., 633; A. & G., 65, 2.

18. extendant, *extend,* i. e., cause the dogs to stretch themselves in order to catch the offered bites, thus in their motion upsetting the lights.

20. singulares, to whom there was neither mother nor sister of Christian belief.

24. Timent plecti: the inf. after verbs of fearing is not to be recommended; H., 492, 4, 3; G., 424; A. & G., 57, 8, c. *Timent plecti* should be regarded as the words of the objector as far as *proclament,* where Tertullian interrupts him with *defendi,* etc.

25. sub tali conscientia, *under the weight of such a knowledge.*

26. age: Dict., sub *ago,* iv., c.

27. Sequitur ne for *sequitur ut non.*

CHAPTER IX.

The crimes charged on the Christians are really committed by the heathen: infanticide, cannibalism, incest.

29. quo: H., 497; G., 545, 2; A. & G., 64, 1, a.—**refutaverim:** perfect. subj. for pres. subj.; Z., 528.

31. penes: rarely local for *apud* or *in.*

Page 43, line 3. crucibus votivis, *votive* crosses, as being *sacred* trees, or, a grim jest, as being like those from which *devoted* or *consecrated* objects were suspended.—**militia** = milites; Tertullian often employs abstracts for concretes.

7. aliquis is both adjective and substantive; *aliqui* is an obsolete form.

9. parcendo: supply *in.*

13. Maior aetas: abstract for concrete *personae majoris aetatis.*—**prosecare,** in later Latin, *to sacrifice.*

14. Tauricas fabulas: allusion to Orestes and the temple of Diana in the Chersonesus Taurica, with its human victims.

15. urbe Aeneadarum: Rome.

16. Jupiter (Latiaris).

17. bestiarii: supply *sanguine;* of a beast-fighter in the arena. Comp. Prudentius, Symmach., i., 379:

> "Respice terrifici scelerata sacraria Ditis
> Cui cadit infausta fusus gladiator arena."

18. hoc, *on that account;* minus est, quam alius hominis sanguis.

19. de homicidio, *in consequence of a murder.*

20. solum filium, *only son;* de crudelitate, *in consequence of cruelty.* Saturnus, the father of Jupiter, devoured his own children.

21. sacrum, *religious act;* arbitrium, *arbitrary choice.*

23. vultis, *do you suppose?*

26. pulsem: jurid., *arraign,* accuse.

27. Siquidem, *if indeed.*

31. semel, *once for all.*

32. delibare, *to absorb.*

Page 44, line 2. quis = aliquis. Supply after refert *num.*

5. nuncubi relatum sit: supply nescio, *I know not, whether any where,* etc.; or, perhaps, separate *nunc* nescio *ubi, I know not now, where.* Others read *necubi.* Herod., iv., 70.

8. Nescio quid, *je ne sais quoi,* aliquid; H., 525, 4; A. & G., 67, 2, e; Sallust, Catal., 22.

11. excurro, *go away from home.*—**Hodie istic,** etc.: construe "Sanguis de femore proscisso parmula [ablative] exceptus et suis (*her devotees*) datus Bellonae sacratos signat;" for *suis* others read *siti,* or *usui.*

13. munere in arena, *at a gladiatorial exhibition.*

17. obsoniis: ablative of material.

18. quem cruentavit (quem virum).

20. cruditantes, *filled yet with undigested* human flesh.

26. futurum sanguinem, *which is to turn into blood.*

28. error, *wicked way.*—**Christianis:** ablative of cause.

Page 45, line 3. exorbitare: preg., *to deviate from the right way.*—**quale est,** i. e., qualis ratiocinatio est.

6. Quem quidem: sc. sanguinem.

10. necandi: supply *essent.*

12. custodiarum: abstr. for concrete, *prisoners.*

16. ridere with accus., H., 371, 3; G., 329, R. 1; A. & G., 52, 1, a.

18. erroribus, *to mistakes.*

21. melioribus parentibus: H., 388; G., 253; A. & G., 51, 4.

24. impegerit: neuter, *to strike*, i. e., *to be committed;* for subj. see H., 503, III., 1; G., 600.

27. saltus, *indulgence*, because *omnia septa transilit.*

28. pangere, *beget.*

30. memorias, *kindred* [late Latin].

Page 46, line 3. senes pueri, *when old men still boys.*

8. per omnia, *in every thing.*

CHAPTER X.

The real charge against the Christians is that they do not worship the gods or sacrifice to the emperors. But the gods were men; this is proved of Saturn.

14. convenimur: jurid., *to be proceeded against.*—**rei:** plural of *reus.*—**caussa,** *ground.*

15. digna cognosci: later Latin for *quae*, with subj., H., 501, III.

16. desperare aliquid: H., 371, 3; G., 329, R. 1; A. & G., 52, 1, a.

23. Appellamus, provocamus, *appeal.* But *appello judices*, and *provoco aliquem ad judices.*

27. inficiae, *denial;* inficias ire, *to deny.*—**instrumentis,** *documents.*

32. tantos = *tales.*

Page 47, line 4. otiosum est: H., 475, 4, 1; G., 246, R.; A. & G., 60, 2, c.—**ut,** *so that;* colligam in compendium, *I will collect into a compend*, I will be short.

5. et hoc: sc. faciam; agitis, *you act;* oblitos, *the part of such as have forgotten.*

10. si quantum: *si*, supply *vis audire; quantum*, as far as.

11. Thallus is a Greek who wrote a history of Syria (Eusebius, Pr. Ev., x., 3). **Severus** has not been identified.

14. rerum, *of facts.*

21. tabulae = ars scribendi.

31. contigit dici: exception to H., 556, II.

Page 48, line 4. deos consecrent: allusion to the deification of the late emperors by the Senate.

5. licet paucis: supply verbis dictum sit.

7. examen, *swarm;* seminis = *stock;* par, *like*, governs occasionally, even in earlier Latin, the genitive.

CHAPTER XI.

How were men made gods? Not by themselves, but by a higher power. For what reason? Not necessity, nor because of inventions or goodness. Other men are better than they.

9. instituistis, *you have undertaken.*

12. mancipem, *proprietor.*

22. nisi si, *unless.*

Page 49, line 9. prospectum, *provided for.*

10. Denique: late Latin, *therefore.*

12. non eius: sc. esse.

14. antequam: H., 523; G., 576; A. & G., 62, 2, c.

15. male agere cum, *to deal badly with*, to treat ungenerously.

21. allegere, *elect*, a term used for the appointment of senators.

23. tam . . . quam: here for *tales . . . quales.*

Page 50, line 1. impii quique: H., 458, 1; G., 305; A. & G., 17, 5, c.

6. dei: here for *deorum.*—**neminem** = nullum; H., 457, 1; G., 304; = quorum neminem.

9. notae, *taints.*

12. probi quique: H., 458, 1; 396, III., 1; =quicunque probi estis.

18. retractatum, *repetition.*

19. fuerint: concess. subj.

20. aliquem = a Socrates, etc.; de sapientia, supply potiorem, *on account of his wisdom.*

27. ille, *that supreme Being* who confers divinity.

CHAPTER XII.

The names of the gods are names of dead men; their images pieces of matter, which you treat as badly as you do us. We can not hurt them.

31. ut qui, utpote qui, quippe qui = *because, since,* take the subj.

Page 51, line 1. Quantum, usually followed by *ad* or *in*, has here *de; as far as concerning, in reference to.*

3. de fabulis, *arising from myths.*

4. nihil aliud ea esse deprehendo, quam materias, sorores; *sisters,* or *akin to,* fatum, *their destiny.*

18. Cervices ponimus = sc. on the block, to be beheaded.

20. Cybele: anomalous Greek dat. There is, however, a difference between being lacerated by wild animals and being drawn by them on a chariot.—**applicatis,** *hitched* (namely, to the chariot).

21. hoc (ablat. referring to fire) et illi (uruntur).

20. censentur: the census determining a man's status; *censeri* readily passes to the idea of originate.—**inde,** *therefrom,* Germ. *daher,* refers to *metalla.*

32. mortuorum suorum, *their dead originals.*

CHAPTER XIII.

The heathen despise their own gods, preferring one to another; selling, or using them as utensils; taxing them; honoring them no more than men; adding to their number.

Page 52, line 8. e contrario, *on the contrary,* i. e., in contradiction to your belief.

9. qui with subj. denotes the consequences of their inconsistency.

12. alii alios: H., 459, 1; G., 306; A. & G., 47, 9.

13. alterius . . . alterius: H., 459; G., 306.

14. reprobatione: sc. est.

17. perstrinximus, with the idea of censure, ch. v.

18. quem damnasset: *qui* here with casual sense.

22. de Saturno depends on *demutando,* making of Saturn into, i. e. changing Saturn into, etc.

23. dum diu colitur, *while,* etc., or *during a long worship.*

25. Publicos, *the state* gods, opposed to *domesticos.*

26. in hastario, *auction register.* Since for the use of sacred places a fine had to be given to the guardians, the guardianship of these places was given by auction to the highest bidder.

Page 53, line 2. religio mendicans cauponas, etc. The lease of the sacred places was advertised in the public places.

6. proinde, *in the same manner.*

7. insignia: supply *eadem.*

13. Accepto ferent = pro accepto, *to receive gladly.*

14. Larentinam: others, *Larentiam.* Minuc. Fel., Oct., 25.

17. Semo, a Sabine god, was mistaken for Simon Magus.

18. paedagogiis, boys of a *paedagogium* = pages. — **aulicis,** *courtly,* princely; alludes here to Antinous, a page, whom Hadrian had consecrated after his death.

19. synodi, *of the sacred synod;* the circle of the higher gods.

20. a vobis, *from your side.*

21. solis: supply *illis.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Proof that the heathen contemn their gods from the sacrifices, from the poets, from the philosophers.

28. decima Herculis. This tithe is mentioned by Dion. Halic. (i., 40) and others.

31. liberalia officia, *duties befitting a gentleman.*

Page 54, lines 2-5. See, for the story of Venus, Iliad, v., 330; Aen., xi., 277; for Mars, Il., v., 385; for Jupiter, Aen., x., 567; Il., xvi., 458; xiv., 312.

12. addicit with two dat., H., 390, II., 2; G., 350; A. & G., 51, 5.

18. vera falsa: abbrev. hypoth. = si vera, si falsa.

20. parcunt: here absolute, *are careful;* supply *adeo*, to such a degree as not, etc. Supply *esse* after *domus*.

23. deierabat: verbs of swearing often take an accus. with *per* understood.

25. olim, *ofttimes.*

26. poenitentia: ablat. of cause.—**Athenienses:** nominative.

29. nescio quid = aliquid; H., 525, 4.

30. ludit, *to make a sportive remark; in, in reference to.*

31. sive Iupiteres dicendum: sc. est.—**Ioves:** accus. plural of the obsolete nom. *Jovis*, for which *Jupiter* was used.

CHAPTER XV.

The gods are ridiculed in farces and dramas, and dishonored in gladiatorial shows and the orgies in their temples.

Page 55, line 1. ingenia: here concrete.—**lasciviae:** gen. of quality = an adjective.

3. venustates, *charming plays*, farces.

4. strophis, *tricks*, juggler's tricks, because connected with *jocis* in mimical representations.

7. histrionum litterae, *literature of the stage.*

8. Luget, suspirat with accus., H., 371, 3, 1; G., 329, R.; A. & G., 52, 1, a.

11. elogia, *indictments*, judicial records, crimes.

14. vestire, to *cover*, to put upon.

15. productum, *educated*, fitted, trained.—**effeminatione:** to the stern Christians, as to the later Puritans, the whole dramatic art was effeminacy, or luxuriousness.

18. cavea, *spectator's seat on the stage.*

19. inquinamenta poenarum, *the pollutions resulting from in-*

flicted punishments. It refers to the blood of criminals exposed in the arena.

20. dii vestri, i. e., the actors representing these gods.

21. noxii induunt et ipsos deos, *put on the very gods,* i. e., to quote Havercamp, "Noxii saepe in poenam ad vivum repraesentant id quod de diis fingitur, castrantur, comburuntur."

24. meridianorum, *midday gladiators,* who, having escaped death in the arena in the morning exhibition, fought *ad internecionem* at midday.

25. Mercurium: he, according to mythology, accompanied the departed souls to Tartarus.

26. Iovis fratrem: Pluto.

27. deducentem, drag away.

29. de contemptu censentur = haec facta censentur esse de contemptu deorum.

Page 56, line 4. expungi = consummari, as often in Tertul.

6. de vestris, *from your ranks.*

8. spoliarent: your very religion makes people impious.

10. subiacet = iacet sub oculis = *it is plain* = it follows from our argument.

13. capite: from *capio.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Christians do not worship an ass's head, or a cross, or sun, or a biformed image, but the heathen do worship such things.

17. inseruit: abs., *to intimate.*

20. argumentatus quae voluit, *having concluded what he wished,* i. e., having theorized at his pleasure.

23. onagris fontis indicibus depends on *usos.*

25. superficiem: Tertul. term = *head.*

26. praesumptum: supply *est.*

29. mendaciorum: H., 399, 1, 2, 1; G., 374; A. & G., 50, 3, b.

31. speculandis arcanis: H., 564; G., 430, R.; A. & G., 73, 3, b. Dative of purpose, intimated already by the preceding *propterеaque.*

Page 57, line 1. si colebatur: indicat., we suppose by it a thing as actual; see Zumpt, 517, note.

3. quia . . . cultura: the subject of the clause is *cultura.*

7. tótos: opposed to the *superficies asini;* or, as is suggested by the passage in Min. Felix, Oct., 28, which Tertul. here follows, *the whole race* of (cantherii) horses.

8. Hoc improbamur: H., 380, 2; G., 331; A. & G., 52, 3, a.

12. habitus, *appearance.*—**viderit,** special use, *let him see to it* =let it be his concern; i. e., it makes no difference. If some piece of wood is propitiated, the external appearance makes no difference as long as the substance of the material is the same. The form makes no difference, etc.

15. palo: ablative of quality.

16. omne robur, *every thing made of oak wood.*

17. si forte, *if perhaps* you insist on our worshiping the cross, while you worship only the stock, the pole, which forms a part of your gods.

19. plastis de cruce, *from things modeled from the cross.*

23. suggestus imaginum, *the provisions of images,* i. e., those images decorating your standards. These images were those of the emperors.

24. Siphara, *the flag* as distinguished from the staff; it is another form of the *siparium* of the Dictionaries. Comp. *σίφαρος.*

28. deputare ad, *to reckon to* = to be regarded as.

30. clypeo, *disk* of the sun.

Page 58, line 2. indulgemus, *consecrate; in* secundo loco, *in the next place,* i. e., we are next—i. e., resemble.

6. ex quo: sc. tempore.

7. frustrandis, because by his skill he eluded them.

9. ὀνοκοίτης, *who lies in an ass's manger.* There are many different readings.

14. a lumbis = *in reference to.*

17. de conscientia, *knowingly,* i. e., from a bad conscience—fear.

CHAPTER XVII.

God, whom Christians worship, is one, the creator of the cosmos, not to be comprehended, testified to by nature and by the soul.

21. instrumento = apparatus.

26. videatur, spiritually.—**per gratiam,** by grace.

Page 59, line 2. capit non, *not able to hold.* Havercamp calls *capit* a Graecism for ἐνδέχεται, unnecessarily. While he does not hold to be grasped, i. e., while he can not be grasped, this is it which causes him to be grasped as a God.

11. exancillata, *enslaved.*

12. valetudine, *sickness.*

13. patitur, like πάσχω, refers to good and bad sensations.

16. Iudicem . . . reddet, *She testifies likewise that he is judge,* (by using the terms) *God sees,* etc. Comp. De Test. Animae, ch. ii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

God sent prophets to announce him, and made a written revelation. The story of its translation into Greek.

22. tam ipsum: supply *quam* before *dispositiones;* both himself and his.

23. instrumentum litteraturae, *of writing,* i. e., a written document.

25. inquisito: H., 431, 5; G., 438, R. 2; A. & G., 54, 10, c.

26. dignos deum nosse: the construction with *qui* and the subj. [H., 500, III.] is preferable.

Page 60, line 1. demerendo sibi: dat. of purpose, *for obliging him,* i. e., for deserving his favor.

4. prodacto, *consumed,* past.

8. dispunctionem, *settling up.*

12. virtutes: Scriptural term for *miracles.*—**fides,** *credibility.* —**divinitatis,** *divine authority.*

24. ex patrum gratia, *for their father's sake.*
26. notitia, *right understanding.*
27. subscriptum: see ch. vi., 22, note.
29. sententiae communione, *participation of the same view;* referring to the story that the seventy-two translators, shut up in separate cells, miraculously made the same translation; or, some say, to their agreement with Menedemus about the doctrine of providence.
30. suspexit, *esteemed.*
31. exaperta, *translated.* Ptolemy left the Hebrew records translated into Greek.

Page 61, line 2. vectigalis, because they were *subject to a tax.* —**aditur,** *to undergo,* assume, make use of. The liberty of hearing them read, though under a tax, is made use of, etc.

CHAPTER XIX.

Moses and the prophets are more ancient than any heathen authors, as could be easily proved, though it would take long.
8. The passage in brackets was first published by Havercamp, found in a single MS.

Page 62, line 31. venas, *contents;* the term is taken from the mines.—**styli,** *writing.*

Page 63, line 1. canas, *old in respect of memoirs.*
2. adhuc minus: sc. exaggeratione.
4. scrinium, *letter-box* = writings.
6. quem audistis = de aliquo.
7. pariter: a Graecism for *par.*
8. quadringentis annis: H., 418; G., 400; A. & G., 54, 6, e.
10. mille: H., 178.
11. Homerum: supply *antecedit.*
12. habens: sc. auctores.
14. non retrosiores, *not farther back* = as far back.
15. ordinibus, *method.*

18. instrumentis, *document.*

21. municipes, *citizens,* such as Manetho, etc., in opposition to Josephus, Iudaeus vernaculus vindex.

22. aliqui = aliquis = *a* Manetho, etc.

29. censuales: those who marked down in the Greek states the public events in the archives.—**quae quando,** for quae et quando.

Page 64, line 2. aspersimus, *sprinkle, allude,* hint at.

3. persequamur, *execute.*

CHAPTER XX.

The inspiration of the Scriptures is proved from the prophecies contained in them, fulfilled and being fulfilled.

9. seculum, *age.*—**exitus,** *events.*

13. locales, brought about by the very locality, such as volcanic regions, etc.

14. frequentiae pleraque montium = pleraque montium frequentia, which "very great haunting of the mountains" Havercamp refers to the wild beasts, which in North Africa increased so much (according to Strabo) that agriculture in some parts had to be discontinued. The construction is a Graecism; comp. ἡ πολλὴ τῆς χώρας. Others read *plerumque mortium.* Comp. with this passage Isa. xl., 4; Ezek. xxi., 31; Matt. xxiv., 6, 7.

17. quod etiam temporum officia . . . exorbitant: temporum, *seasons;* allusion to excessive droughts or rains.

20. providenter = haec omnia per deum, qui providet, scripta sunt.

28. expungitur, *it is fulfilled.*

31. duos gradus = the present and past.

CHAPTER XXI.

An account of Christ; his coming, rejection, death, resurrection, ascension. In him Christians worship the true God.

Page 65, line 4. fortasse an, *perhaps.*

5. hoc nomine, *on this ground.*—**retractetur,** *detract,* disparage—i. e., captious questions might be raised.

10. agimus, *act with,* i. e., agree with.

11. mancipari, *to be the property,* i. e., to be votaries.

13. quo, *so that,* result.

15. sub nomine, *on the ground of his name,* i. e., to be called from his name, to be condemned for his name.

16. aliter: sc. quam Iudaeos.

17. dicamus: the mere subj. is often used after *oportet* and *necesse est.*

23. fiducia patrum: objective genitive.

24. derivantes: here neuter; *flowing off,* i. e., deviating.

26. coeli et soli extorres: H., 399, 2, 3; G., 373; A. & G., 50, 3, c. In the earlier Latin an ablative would be used.

29. vestigio salutare conceditur: after the rebellion of Barcochebas Hadrian banished the Jews from Jerusalem, which became a Roman colony under the name of Aelia Capitolina. Comp. Gibbon, xv., 26, note; Eusebius, H. E., iv., 6.

31. ingerebant, *force upon,* insist.—**fore uti:** H., 544; G., 240; A. & G., 58, II., f.

Page 66, line 3. Venit . . . dei: thought a gloss by some, but found in all MSS.; *eam* would mean *gentem hominum.*

10. passus est, *experience, have.*

11. squamatum, etc.: allusions to the metamorphoses of Jupiter in his debaucheries: "Filiam Proserpinam sub specie draconis squamati constupravit." See Dict., under Europa, Leda, Danae, Juno, Alcmena, etc.

13. numina, *godlike feats.*

29. proferre, prolatum describe here the mysterious origination of the Son from God the Father.

Page 67, line 8. modulo, *by the measure* (or manner) of existence.—**gradu,** *position.*

9. statu, *nature.*—**non recessit,** *excessit. He did not separate, he extended.*

12. mistus = unitus.—**Caro spiritu instructa,** *provided with a soul.*

25. seculo depends on *imminet.*
27. unum, *the only one.*

Page 68, line 4. restringeret, *bind back* (or fast) the loosened nerves, i. e., strengthen.
5. famulare = δουλοῦν, *to reduce to slavery,* i. e., make them obedient.
27. suspectos = suspicaces.
32. divulgare, *to spread a falsehood* (scelus), subject of *intererat.*—**quorum:** H., 406, 3; G., 381; A. & G., 50, 4, d.

Page 69, line 6. ad quadraginta, *up to.*
21. ipsos illos quos adoratis: the demons (ch. xxii.).
25. incutiat, *cast upon us.*

Page 70, line 5. Boeotiae for *in Boeotia.*
10. rupices, *rustics.*
17. omni ratione, *on every ground.*

CHAPTER XXII.

That there are spiritual beings philosophers, poets, and the people agree with us. Their business is the ruin of mankind. Their working is described, and the manner in which they do wonders and tell the future or the remote.

25. a bono: so Tertullian; Socrates thought, *a malo.*
28. proinde, *in like manner.*—**de propria . . . animae,** *with an instinctive knowledge of the soul* about Satan. Comp. De Test. An., ch. iii.
29. ex voce, *by reason of, through the same expression of* an oath.

Page 71, line 3. ordine, *systematically.*
13. Si poma si = veluti si. It introduces a simile to explain the preceding *in effectu potius.*
15. caeca ratione, *occult way or manner.*
16. haustus, breath.

22. procuret, avertant: note change of number, mediated by *illis*.

27. Hoc angeli, etc.: hoc = hanc qualitatem habent, etc.

Page 72, line 4. sortes, *prophecy*.—**temporum,** *of the times* (to come).

6. ambiguitates, *their ambiguous answers*.—**in eventus,** *to suit the events*. For Croesus, see Herod., i., 48; for Pyrrhus, Cicero, De Div., ii., 56.

7. Ceterum testudinem, etc.: allusion to the answer given to Croesus by the Pythia. Grote, Hist. of Greece, iv., 189.

11. paraturas coelestes, *proceeding going on in the skies*.—**habent sapere:** unusual expression. *habere* with an infinitive usually expresses necessity: *I have to* = *I must*. Here *sapere* is treated as a verbal noun, the object of *habes: they have the to-know* (i. e., they have knowledge of), a Hellenism frequent with Tertullian.

18. phantasmata Castorum: see Valer. Max., i., 8, l. 2; Flor., i., 11; ii., 12; Cic., Tuscul., i., 12; Lactant., ii., 8, 17; Minuc. Fel., Oct., 7, 27.—**aquam cribro gestatam:** see Valer. Max., viii., 1; Plin., H. N., xxviii., 2; Augustin., Civ. D., x., 16.

19. navem cingulo promotam: see Julian., Or., v.; Ovid., Fast., iv., 305 sq.; Liv., xxix., 14; Lactant., ii., 7; Augustin., Civ. D., x., 16; Minuc. Fel., Oct., 7.—**et barbam tactu irrufatam:** see Sueton., Nerone, 1. See *Claudia*, *Aenobarbus*, Anth. Clas. Dict.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Demons do the same acts as the gods of the heathen; those inspired by these gods confess that they have demons. The demons are subject to the name of Christ, and their testimony converts men to Christianity.

23. infamant: because the souls of great men were, so to speak, at the bidding of these magicians.

Page 73, line 10. exitus, *result*.

16. de vero, de falso, *truly, falsely*.

18. de deo pati = agitari.

27. in medio est, is open to all.

30. permiserint vobis: supply *testes esse veritatis.*

Page 74, line 4. ad dedecus facit: facere ad = *to do to it* = add to it.

9. directo, *straight*, i. e., plainly—without disguise.

10. omnino, *at all.*

15. deos esse negans: Graecism for *se esse deos.*

16. daemonas. Verum utrobique: others punctuate, *daemonas, verum utrobique.* Of the two suppositions, the one that they are demons is the true one. *utrobique*, by both parties—among Christians and Pagans.

19. ab: here instrumental, *through.*

20. detegentibus agrees in sense with *opera nostra.*

21. in continenti = simul = *all at once.*

26. si homo = veluti si, *just as if.*

32. rideant et illi: sc. daemones.

Page 75, line 1. omnem ab aevo: sc. existentam, *existing from the beginning.*

4. sortitos esse hoc: sc. judicium.

7. sanguine . . . pecorum: apposition, descriptive of *pabulis.*

13. commemoratione eorum: sc. *malorum.*

28. quod sciam: H., 501, I., 3; G., 629, R.; A. & G., 65, 2, d.

30. vel ne, *even for this reason*, lest.

31. si illis . . . mentiri liceret: supply *quare credite illis.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

Not the Christians, but the heathen are irreligious. They do not give the world's Chief Ruler his proper worship. They prevent his free worship, and license the worship of others.

Page 76, line 11. in verum: sc. modum, *in a true manner*, i. e., really.

12. ut constaret: *ut* elliptic for *fac ut*, granted, that.

13. de communi aestimatione, a belief common to all.

21. suspici: supply *dicitis.*—**quod facinus:** *quod* is the interrogative form of the adjective.

23. transfert: sc. ad alium.—**appellationem,** *title* of God as of emperor.—**nec . . . alius quam,** *and . . . no other than,* i. e., only.

24. princeps, *sovereign.*

28. numeret nubes, i. e., under the sky.—**lacunaria,** *in a temple.*

Page 77, line 3. avibus . . . damnandis: dat. of purpose; supply *iis* before *damnandis.*

6. Atargatis: others read *Astarte.* The names of gods which follow to line 15 appear in various readings. Some of them are wholly unknown, though most have been found in other authors or on inscriptions. See the notes in Oehler's Tertullian.

15. in honorem: supply *successit.*—**patris Curis** = Jupiter.

18. Bene: supply *est.*

19. velimus aut nolimus, *whether we wish or not wish; will we, nill we.*

CHAPTER XXV.

The Romans do not owe their empire to their worship of the gods; it was won before the present rites were known, accompanied with sacrilege toward the gods of the conquered.

32. orbem: sc. terrarum, i. e., adeo illos, quos colunt, deos esse.

Page 78, line 1. praeter, *beyond,* above.

3. gratia, *service* (religious).—**Mutunus,** i. e., Mutinus, *Priapus.*—**Larentina:** see ch. xiii.

5. fautum voluisse: the inf. perf. passive; and more frequently, without *esse,* is joined with *velle* to express the rapidity with which a thing is done (Zumpt, 611). Notice, too, the dat. after *faveo,* which remains in the passive construction in Latin; though we say in English *I am favored,* we must say in Latin *favetur mihi.*

7. Viderit, *let her see to it,* let her account for (namely, the destruction of Troy). *Viderit,* see ch. xvi.

19. mandare imperia, *to enjoin,* issue his commands.—**aeque,** *in like manner* = as before.

20. diplomata: here, *army dispatches.*

23. sineret for *sisset.* See Z., 525; H., 486, III., 4.

25. nutricis, Amalthea.

32. gentibus = super gentes. The quotation is from Aen., i., 16.

Page 79, line 3. Fato stat, i. e., subditus stat fato.

5. destinatum: a noun of Tertullian = *determination.* He prefers nouns in *-us* to those in *-io.*

11. sed Romae postea is a gloss.—**cum indigenis,** *with his countrymen,* i. e., Sterculus, with the other native gods of his character. Oehler reads for *sed Romae, sicut Romani.*

12. si qui, *if any of them;* ut qui, quippe qui = *because.*

15. inciderentur = incisi insculptique erant.

17. adhuc = etiam nunc, *yet still.* Because he used in the preceding clause *regnorum,* he says *sive adhuc regnum,* or, for convenience' sake call it yet a *regnum.*

23. Samia, made of clay *of Samos;* then, any earthenware.

Page 80, line 10. adolationes, i. e., *adulationes.* This change of *ol, ul* is found from the earliest times.

CHAPTER XXVI.

God dispenses empire. Great empires existed before the gods of Rome; Judea became great despising these gods.

21. ipsis temporibus refers to the length of period the great world-empires lasted, as indicated in Daniel.

22. seculum corpus temporum: the world is a body of times, inasmuch as we date from its creation.

27. ambitum Capitolii = ambitiosum Capitolium.

Page 81, line 3. dominaturi governs the genitive in later Latin.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Christians refuse to sacrifice, because they know the real beings to whom the sacrifices are made. The suggestion that they deceptively go through the form of sacrificing is a suggestion of the devil. They conquer him by dying for the faith.

6. quo, *because.* Others read *quod.*

8. obstruimus gradum, *we throw up a firm position against it.* —**pro fide,** *by virtue of the conviction* of our knowledge.

13. manente . . . proposito, our religious views remaining within, i. e., with a mental reservation of our views.

15. vobis: ablative depending on *abutor.*

19. paraturae: here passively; *substance,* nature.

20. divortium, *separation,* rejection from God.

26. ut nequam . . . miscent: construe, "Tamen ut nequam servi miscent nonnunquam," etc.

30. fruendae malignitatis: H., 419, 4, 1; G., 428, R. 3.

31. de poenae mora: see Dict., *de,* B., 2.—**Et tamen . . . obsecrant:** allusion to exorcisms.

Page 82, line 2. vice: Dict., s. v. *vicis,* II., 2, b, *β.*

5. ingratis: Dict., s. v. *ingratia,* B.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The second part of the charge. It is absurd to try to compel the offering of honors, and the devils have led you to charge us with treason for refusing to sacrifice to the emperors. The heathen are impious who worship the emperors more than the gods.

13. indico, *to enjoin.*—**faciundae:** dative of purpose, H., 238; G., 430, R.; A. & G., 73, 3, b.

14. sui caussa: late Latin for *sua caussa.*

15. prae manu, *at hand,* in readiness. Construe, "Ne pro jure libertatis dicere esset prae manu" = ne utens jure libertatis praeparatus sit ad dicendum.

17. ex qua velit fronte: reference to the two faces of Janus.

18. quid tibi mecum est? *what business is to thee with me?*= what have you to do with me?

23. siquidem, *because;* si quidem, *if indeed.*—**callidus,** *worldly-wise.*—**timiditas,** *fearfulness;* here reverence.

24. de Olympo = Olympium.

26. quolibet . . . potior, *better than any of your dead.* Others read *cuilibet mortuo potior.*

27. ratione: supply *alia.*

30. dicatis, from dicare.

CHAPTER XXIX.

To prove us guilty of treason in not praying to the gods for the emperor, it must be shown that they can help them; but they are creatures and possessions of Caesar: those who pray to them and not to God are guilty rather than we.

Page 83, line 5. quod in conscientia vestra est: what you know well.

11. iratum. Caligula ordered the heads off all the gods, and his own put on them. He threatened to send Zeus to Greece if he did not do better.—**ad causam,** sc. nostram.

12. si et propitium, sc. Caesarem habent.

18. ludimus de officio salutis, *we sport with the duty* we owe them in prayers for their safety.

CHAPTER XXX.

Christians pray for the emperor to God, from whom he receives his life and power and sceptre. Those who slay them while thus praying are to be questioned of treason.

28. qua = qua parte = *as far as.*

30. a quo, *commencing with whom.*

32. cum super omnes homines *sint.*

Page 84, line 12. monitore, *a leader* in praying.

13. precantes: mark the eminence given to the idea of habit by using the participle.

18. orare ab: late Latin for *orare aliquem aliquid*, probably confounded with *petere ab aliquo.*

21. qui observo, H., 445; G., 616; A. & G., 48.

25. unius assis: genitive of price.

Page 85, line 2. habitus, *posture.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

It is proved from the Bible that Christians must pray for rulers.

9. defendimus, jurid., *allege in one's defense.*

12. scito, never *sci* in the imperative.

13. ad redundantiam = ut redundaret benignitas.

15. precari: Matt. v., 44.

17. in crimen, *in reference to a charge.*—**convenimur,** jurid., *to be proceeded against.*—**nominatim,** *in the very names,* with the names or the titles specified.

18. Orate: 1 Tim. ii., 2.

21. extranei follows here the construct. of *alienus ab*, strangers to, i. e., not implicated.—**licet,** although.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Christians pray for the emperors because the end of the world is put off by prolonging the Roman Empire (2 Thess. ii., 7). They swear by the safety of Caesar, which is the will of God, but not by his *genius*—a devil which they cast out.

27. commeatu, 1, furlough; 2, extension of this furlough: allusion to the belief of Christians prevalent at that time that the fall of the empire would be simultaneous with the end of all things.

31. per salutem: This oath, being a military oath, was permitted to the Christians, implying that the soldier should prefer the safety of the imperator to his own. Suetonius left a formula

of this sacramentum: "Neque me liberosque meos cariores habebo quam Caium" (i. e., the imperator).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Christians honor the emperor as ordained of God—not God, but a man of surpassing glory.

Page 86, line 9. sed quid ego, sc. dicam.

10. necesse est, sc. ut.

11. elegerit: subj., because, causal nexus.

12. dixerim = dixi; Z., 527.

13. in eo, *in this respect.*

15. qui merear: H., 489, II.; G., 633; A. & G., 65, 2.

21. si . . . sit: Z., 524.

27. Respice post te. See Suetonius, Octav., 91, and Casaubon's note; Isidore, Origines, xvii., 3. The rolling wheel, symbol of fortune, the servant riding behind, the captives following, were all reminders.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The emperor should not be called Lord, much less God.

Page 87, line 5. Ceterum liber sum illi, *But to him*, i. e., in reference to him, *I am a freeman*, i. e., as far as religious respects are shown to the emperor as *dominus*, I am free, I owe him none, because, etc.

9. familiae: supply *capita* or *principes;* the heads or chiefs of a family.

10. tanto, *by so much;* abest, *it is improper.*

11. non . . . non modo seems to be used here by Tertullian like *non nisi* = only.

12. tanquam and **tamquam si** = *just as if.*

20. de infausto, *on account of its evil omen.*—**maledictum:** naturally, to call him God, which title he received only after his death, was to wish him to be dead.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Why Christians do not celebrate riotous festivals in honor of Caesar. The wickedness of the heathen who hatch treason at these festivals.

25. conscientia, *with a good conscience.*

28. vino lutum cogere: by pouring it on the ground.

Page 88, line 5. Caesarum: subj. genit., *appointed by the emperors.*

10. religione . . . maiestatis, *in a religious worship rendered to an inferior majesty* (Caesar being second from, i. e., inferior to God).

21. Tiberis: the Tiber ward, where the people lived.—**scholae bestiarum,** *wild-beast schools;* both localities were free in their language.

24. scenam: accusative of limitation, *in reference to the scene.*

32. ex fide = jurid., *conscientiously*, honestly.

Page 89, line 2. Cassii, Niger, Albinus, opponents of Severus.

3. obsident Caesarem: Commodus.

5. armati palatium irrumpunt: the assassins of Pertinax.—**Sigeriis et Partheniis,** murderers of Domitian.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Christians must be friends, not only to Caesar, but to all men.

Page 90, line 13. indifferentis, *impartial.*

16. ex aequo, *equally.*

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Christians are shown to be harmless, since they do not avenge themselves either by firing the cities, exciting sedition, seceding from the empire, or by refusing to cast out devils from the heathen.

21. quem habemus odisse. Construction found in earlier writers, though *quis erit, quem oderimus* is more common.

22. pares, sc. eorum, qui injuriam faciunt.

23. nam refers to the answer *no*, implied in the preceding question.

26. praeteritis vobis, you being passed by, i. e., not to mention you, O judges, who afflict us under the pretext of the law.

27. ipsis furiis: ablative of manner.

29. asylo quodam: quodam, Z., 707 = ut ita dicam.—**alios:** supply *factos.* Dict., alius, 6.

30. iam nec totos, *no longer entire, decomposed by decay.*—**repensatum:** past part. agreeing with *quid.*

Page 91, line 1. largiter ultionis: H., 411, 1; G., 371, R. 4; A. & G., 50, 2, *d.*

3. absit, sc. cogitantibus nobis = *from our thought.*

7. plures nimirum . . . orbis. Construe "Plures sunt nimirum Mauri et Marcomanni ipsique Parthi vel quantaecunque gentes unum tamen locum et suos fines inhabitantes, quam Christiani totius orbis incolae."

13. dinumerare: i. e., scimus, quam numerosi vestri exercitus sint.—**unius . . . erunt** = tamen Christiani unius . . . erunt.

16. disciplinam, *religious sect,* or, better, *religious system.*

19. divortii invidia, *by an ill-will of separation,* i. e., by a separation instigated by hatred against you.

Page 92, line 5. tanti praesidii compensationem, *the reward for so great a protection.*

7. qui, namely, *hostes.*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Christians should be classed with the tolerated societies. Those which are forbidden are so from regard to the public order: but Christians do not violate that; they do not join factions, nor attend public spectacles.

9. nec paulo lenius, *by not a little = by much;* or, perhaps,

not by a little milder treatment, i. e., not merely by way of a little milder treatment, but on good grounds.

12. prohibendarum . . . publicae : *the motive* (caussa) *for prohibiting sects* (factionum) *rests on the prudent care for public order.*

16. studiorum : here *parties*, factions.

17. in quaestu habere = in loco quaestus habere, *to consider as a business.*

19. ab ardore : *ab* denotes the starting-point, hence, *in respect of.*—**frigere,** *to be indifferent*, dead.

25. de quibus, *on account of which.*

26. dictu, visu, auditu are verbal nouns with passive signification in the ablative of limitation.—**est nobis cum,** *it is to us* = we have in common with.

28. aliquam voluptatis veritatem : some true object of pleasure.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The peculiarities of Christian society—meetings for prayer, reading the Scriptures, etc.; care of the poor; mutual love; community of goods, not of wives; feasts with no heathen license, but with modesty, temperance, holiness.

Page 93, line 3. conscientia, i. e., communem habentes scientiam religionis.

4. divinitate : others read *unitate.*

5. manu facta, military term. See Dict.—**ad deum** depends on *precationibus :* precantes ad deum.

14. nihilominus, *no less.*

17. praeiudicium, *precedent.*

20. seniores = presbyteri.

23. honoraria summa : an initiation fee.

31. domesticis : either old slaves, who were likely to be neglected by their masters, or old people confined to the house, or perhaps, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, belonging to the household of the faith.

Page 94, line 2. vel maxime, *chiefly.*

7. censemur, *we are taken in the name of*, etc., or perhaps, with a medial sense, *we rate ourselves by*, etc. Others read *quod fratres nos vocamus.*—**non alias,** *for no other reason.*

15. expaverunt, *have feared for*, i. e., have sought with fear and trembling for. The ante-Nicene translation has, "who from the same womb of a common ignorance *have agonized* into the same light of truth;" Nisard reads, " qui, sortis du sein commun de l'ignorance, ont vu avec transport luire le jour de la même vérité."

17. tragoedia exclamat: ironical allusion to the sons of Oedipus and the Atridae.

28. alibi: see Dict., *alibi*, 3 = aliis.

Page 95, line 15. dilectio, ἀγάπη.

16. sumptibus: ablative of price.

20. sub auctoramento . . . saginandi, *for the consideration of filling the belly under insults.*

21. qua: supply lege = in the manner in which.

23. disciplinae, *habit*, proceeding.

27. ut qui = ut tales qui.

32. provocatur, etc. = provocatur procedere in medium ut deo canat.

Page 96, line 2. in catervas = in modum catervarum.

5. coenaverint, *have partaken.*

6. haec coitio . . . par: supply *est* after *illicita.*

10. hoc sumus: *hoc* abst., like the Greek τοῦτο, for the concrete *hi*, *tales.*

CHAPTER XL.

It is an odious faction which charges public calamities on the Christians. Such occurred before the coming of Christ. They are caused by sin, and are lighter on account of Christians.

19. vanitatem = vanum titulum, *idle plea.*—**existiment,** H., 517, II.; G., 541; A. & G., 66, 1.

22. coelum stetit, i. e., si non solvitur in imbres.

23. Christianos ad leonem, sc. projici imperatur, i. e., populus exclamat, etc.—**tantos** = tot; irony.

26. Hieran: *Hiera,* one of the Aeolian islands, now called *Volcano.* There are various readings; so for *Co,* accus. of *Cos.*

28. Asiae et Africae: Graecism for the Latin ablative of comparison; it is found in Apuleius and elsewhere. For the submerged region, see Plato, Timaeus, p. 24; and a full discussion in Anthon's Class. Dict., under *Atlantis.*

Page 97, line 7. postumae . . . illius, i. e., nisi post illam cladem conditae essent.

12. si qua . . . conantur: supply *esse;* oculis tenus (sunt).

18. caedes: abst. for concrete.

21. eaedem . . . quae, H., 451, 5; G., 645; A. & G., 22, d.

22. revincam = probare.

25. eius = in eum—citius, *rather.*

Page 98, line 1. debet, sc. humana gens.

3. bonis: here a noun; *goodness,* mercies.

5. illius . . . cuius, H., 399; G., 377; A. & G., 50, 3, b, for illi rea est, in quem fuit et ingrata.

9. deprecatores dei: *dei,* object. genitive.

10. cum ab imbribus . . . suspendunt: *when summer seasons keep the winter seasons from rain.*

11. in cura, i. e., hominibus curae est.

17. expressi, *pressed out;* sucked out, i. e., macerated.

18. invidia, *with jealousy;* i. e., we rival with each other to, etc.; so in French, *à l'envi.* See, for a different view, the last edition of White & Riddle.

CHAPTER XLI.

The heathens are the causes of calamities: God sends them for punishment or warning, and the Christians escape them.

21. importuni, *dangerous.*

Page 99, line 11. nostra refert, H., 408, 1, 2; G., 381; A. & G., 50, 4, d.

12. quam celeriter: for *quam*, see Dict., B.; perhaps here *quam celeriter* for *quam celerrime.*

CHAPTER XLII.

Christians are active in business, and, though they abstain from heathen rites, are very prompt in paying taxes.

21. postulamur: jurid., *we are arraigned.*

22. quo pacto, sc. infructuosi esse possunt.

Page 100, line 2. miscemus, *share.*

9. post lavacrum, the washing after death. Tertullian declines the cold baths of the Saturnalia; he can wait for such till he is dead.

11. supremam, sc. coenam.

12. ubi: supply *coeno.*

14. liberis . . . vagis, sc. uti.

15. coactis, sc. floribus.

16. viderint, *let those look to it.*

21. profligari, *consume,* pluris et carioris; gen. of price.

31. ineatur, sc. *ratio,* if a calculation is entered upon.

32. publico, sc. aerario.

Page 101, line 1. querela compensata: ablat. absolute.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Christians are not helpful to badness; but they cast out devils and pray for people, and there is nothing to fear from them.

10. Quanti: gen. of value; *habetis,* sc. tales.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The injury of the state in regard to the Christians is the injustice done them. The judges are called to witness that the criminals are not Christians, nor the Christians criminals.

16. expendit, *considers.*—**impendimur,** sc. in mortem.

28. pascunt, *supply.*—**hoc tantum,** sc. titulo.

29. aliud, sc. crimen in eo est.

CHAPTER XLV.

Christians alone are and must be innocent, since they alone have from revelation exact knowledge of what is right, and are constrained to act rightly by belief in an all-seeing God and in great and everlasting punishment.

Page 102, line 5. disciplinae: gen., you are not (possessed) *of a moral system* full and sufficiently formidable to produce, etc.

17. Diximus, etc., ch. xix.

23. Epicurus: see Cicero, De Fin., ii., 7, 22.

28. occurrimus, as if to embrace her; or, as others think, *occurrimus = petimus.*

CHAPTER XLVI.

The virtues of the Christians have been shown. Some say that they are only the virtues of philosophy. Then why are we not treated like philosophers, who neglect and ridicule the gods and are honored? The Christians are unlike the philosophers in knowledge of God, in chastity, equanimity, trustiness, sincerity, etc. If any depart from these rules, they are no longer Christians; but bad philosophers retain that title.

Page 103, line 2. intentionem: jurid., *charge,* accusation.

11. obducitur = convincitur, *to be conquered, convinced;* so elsewhere in Tertul. (see ch. l.), perhaps from the jurid. sense of *ducere,* to lead to the bar, or as a slave. Comp. Engl. *subdue.*

28. secundum: loc., *next to.*

Page 104, line 13. Thales: the story here referred to is told of Simonides and Hiero by Cicero (N. D., i., 22). See Anthon's Class. Dict.

23. Phryne: Plutarch tells the story of *Lais*.

31. probitate, *modesty of behavior*.

Page 105, line 3. Pythagoras, Zeno: the story of Pythagoras seeking the government of Thurii is in Diogenes Laertius, viii., 21, 39, 40; Arnob., Adv. Nat., i., 40. No account has been found of Zeno's seeking it at Priene. The aedile was the lowest magistrate.

8. Anaxagoras: no one else tells this story about him.

10. Aristoteles: the friendship of Aristotle and Hermias was described in a work of Apellicon, of which mention is made in a fragment of Aristocles preserved by Eusebius (Praep. Evang., xv., 2); but the story here referred to is not known. See, however, Diogenes Laertius, v., 5, for a story that Hermias, *tyrannus Atarnensium*, gave Aristotle one of his concubines to wife. None of the ancient writers speak of Aristotle as an *adulator* of Alexander, except Tertullian and Tatian.

13. regendo, *to be ruled*, as a pupil by the teacher.

14. Plato is charged with flattering Dionysius for his feasts.

23. Quid adeo simile = qua in re adeo similes sunt, etc.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Bible is a fountain at which philosophers have drunk. They pervert the truth. Their wild theories. They corrupt Christian truths at the instigation of evil spirits, who wish to make the truth appear incredible. Examples—such as the final judgment, Gehenna, etc.

28. praestructa = supra demonstrata, in ch. xix.

Page 106, line 7. conantur: abs., *to venture at;* wish to know about.

9. regestum, *remodeled.*—**pro instituto curiositatis,** according to his own peculiar tenets.

11. quo minus, *so as not to.*

15. nutabat, *doubted;* others read *mutabat*, he altered it.

17. solummodo, *simply;* inventum, *revealed.*

24. neminem humanis rebus, *a nobody in human affairs.*—**positum,** sc. deum esse . . . Stoici dicunt, etc.

28. Si et de ipso, etc., *concerning the world . . . whether.*

32. vetus instrumentum, *the old revelation.*

Page 107, line 1. semine, *race,* class, tribe.

2. paraturam, *dispensation,* revelation.

5. Quod ideo suggesserim: I have alluded to the various Christian sects (the outgrowth of the philosophizing tendency of the age) that no one might decide concerning the real truth from these different tenets.

11. quibus: ablative of comparison.

17. ut quis, etc.: Christians should not be believed, because one gives no credit to poets and philosophers who assert the same notions; or they rather favor poets and philosophers, that no credit might be given to Christians, who, as they think, introduce nothing new.

23. ignis arcani, *of secret fire.*

Page 108, line 3. imagines, *counterfeits.*—**posteriorum,** *of things subsequent to themselves.*

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The philosopher may gain credit by maintaining metempsychosis, the Christian is stoned for preaching the resurrection; but the resurrection is more reasonable than metempsychosis. The power to restore argued from the power to create. Types in nature of the resurrection. There is but one resurrection. Presumption of the perpetuity of Hell.

7. de sententia, *starting from* an opinion.

13. obsonet, *feast upon, eat.*

14. At enim: allusion to the resurrection.

15. statim . . . queritur, the people feels hurt. Havercamp explains it as a proverb: "Videtur a puerulis desumtum, qui mingendi necessitatem ultra non ferre possunt." It is found in a single manuscript, which reads *quaeritur,* and is understood by

Oehler, *Bombast is detected* (sought and found) in any mention of the resurrection.

17. coetibus, *by crowds*, such as run after philosophers to hear their novelties.

22. indutae: nom. pl. agreeing with *animae* understood.

25. aliunde, *from any other being.*

31. dum hominem = hominem manentem, non bestiam.

Page 109, line 24. signatum . . . exemplum, *a marked* (manifest) *example.*

32. titulo Pythiae: *γνῶθι σεαυτόν.*

Page 110, line 7. ingratis: conc., *although unwillingly.*

31. incorruptibilitatis, sc. eorum.

Page 111, line 5. qui tangitur, salvus: Pliny mentions that it was against law to cremate the bodies of those struck by lightning; they must be interred (H. N., ii., 55).

CHAPTER XLIX.

Christianity, esteemed foolish, is yet useful; and an object, not of punishment, but of ridicule. The popular exultation over the sufferings of the Christians is unreasonable, since the Christian chooses to suffer.

24. irrogatis: indicative present.

30. in nos potestis, sc. saevire.

Page 112, line 5. vindicat: predicate of *vulgus.*

CHAPTER L.

The Christian's choice compared to that of a soldier; his death is his victory. The heathen praise those who suffer for earthly glory; they ridicule those who suffer for God. But the persecutions are such as to be proofs of their innocence, and the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church.

20. obducimur, *we are vanquished.* See note on ch. xlvi., p. 103, line 11.

22. semaxios: see in Andrews's Dict. *semiaxius*, which is the reading of a single MS. This use of a half-axle for a stake is referred to elsewhere (De Pudic., 22; Lips., De Cruce, iii., 10).

32. Carthaginis conditrix, Dido.

Page 113, line 4. in exemplum, *after the manner of* barley. Others say, *for an example*, i. e., a notable punishment, with a pounder of barley.

11. Attica meretrix, Λέαινα, *Leæna.* The story is told by Pliny (N. H., vii., 23), Cicero (De Gloria), and others. See Ad Martyres, p. 14, l. 4, and note.

Page 114, line 4. ad lenonem: many Christian women were so condemned. See Lat. Hymns, p. 222, note to line 9 of the Hymn to Agatha; Prudentius, Peristeph., xiv.

12. Diogenes: perhaps the Cynic, who is said by Diogenes Laertius to have written a book, *De Morte.* Pyrrho is said by the same author to have left nothing written (Diog. Laert., vi., 12, 80; ix., 102).

13. Callinicus, the rhetorician.

THE STYLE AND DICTION OF TERTULLIAN.

[The references in figures are to page and line of this book.]

Africa had been long famous for her schools of rhetoric, and the promising field she afforded skillful lawyers (Juvenal, vii., 147). After Tacitus, she was for three centuries the principal mother and nurse of eminent Latin authors. The heathen writers Apuleius and Macrobius, and the Christian, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Cyprian, Commodian, Arnobius, Lactantius, are nearly all the well-known names of the period, and are all Africans; and they were followed by Augustine. The Latin language was studied with care. Apuleius suggests that his hearers tolerated no bad grammar or pronunciation, or slovenly provincialism: "Quis enim vestrum unum mihi solaecismum ignoverit? quis vel unam syllabam barbare pronunciatam donaverit? quis incondita et vitiosa verba temere, quasi delirantibus oborientia, permiserit blatterare?" (Florid., i., 9). There is a certain resemblance among these writers in their style and diction:

1. There is more or less inflation and verbosity, the so-called *tumor Africanus.*

2. There are peculiarities of collocation, such as might arise, perhaps, from thinking in some language unlike the Latin.

3. There are many infrequent words, or senses of words, almost all of which, however, are found in older Latin writers (often in Plautus or Lucretius), or are obvious Graecisms.

The style of Tertullian has the following traits:

1. Realistic energy, showing itself in—

(*a*) Personification;

(*b*) Giving abstracts a concrete sense:

"Quam sapiens argumentatrix sibi videtur ignorantia humana" (Sp., ii.); "tragoediae et comoediae scelerum et libidinum auctrices cruentae et lascivae" (ibid., xviii.; and see notes on 28, 27; 29, 10; 43, 3, 13; and often).

2. Wit, especially in the form of irony, which strangers to him must always look out for. See examples under 1 and 3.

3. Love of paradox, and antithesis:

"Non pudet, quia pudendum est—prorsus credibile est quia ineptum est—certum est quia impossibile" (De Carn. Christ., v.); "merito damnantur licet damnent" (35, 21); "ad lenonem damnando Christianum potius quam ad leonem" (114, 4).

4. Brevity, both from passion and from carelessness:

(*a*) Words are interjected (43, 22; 44, 6).

(*b*) Sentences are broken.

(*c*) Abridged constructions are frequent: e. g., ellipsis of *magis*, *utrum*, *si*, *esse*, *aliquis* (28, 2).

(*d*) Leaps of thought are made.

See A., ix., xxv., for illustrations.

5. Juridical terms abound: he was bred a lawyer. See notes on p. 26, lines 4, 5, 7, 24; and so continually.

6. Military terms are common: his father was a soldier. See notes on 57, 23, 24; 85, 27, 31; 89, 3, 5; and elsewhere.

7. Greek words and constructions occur. He wrote Greek, and read the Greek Scriptures. See notes on 9, 11; 11, 5, 12; 12, 10, 18; and see 14, 10; 45, 17; 58, 9; 105, 6, and elsewhere for words; for construction, 96, 28; 88, 24; and elsewhere.

8. Words which are found elsewhere only in ancient authors. These are thought by some to be picked up by curious study and imitation of the early literature; but they are rather part of the folkspeech.

GRAMMATICAL REMARKS.

THE CASES.

The GENITIVE is often expressed by *de* with the ablative. The genitive is sometimes used for the ablative after a comparative, as in Greek: *maiorem Asiae*, greater than Asia, 96, 28; it is used after *dominari*, 81, 3.

Names of countries sometimes take the locative genitive for the ablative with *in: Boeotiae*, in Boeotia, 70, 5.

The DATIVE of purpose with a gerundive is often used instead of *ad* with the accusative: *Latronibus vestigandis*, for the purpose of tracking robbers, 29, 31. So *stuprandis moribus*, 37, 26; *talibus puniendis*, 50, 10; *speculandis arcanis*, 56, 31; *fingendis simulacris*, 79, 25; *Christianis sepeliendis, diis fumigandis*, 100, 21.

The Greek ACCUSATIVE ending *-en* is found in proper names from *-es*, gen. *-is: Moysen*, 61, 22. So, quite unusual, *Minoën* from *Minos*, 75, 3. The accusative is found in what is called a Greek construction: *praecordia insculpta scenam novi Caesaris*, etc., heart engraven with a scene of a new Caesar distributing largesses, 88, 24. Compare *Flores inscripti nomina regum* (Vergil., Eclog., iii., 106).

The ABLATIVE of substantives is sometimes used adverbially: *sententiam necessitate confusam*, a sentence necessarily self-contradictory, 29, 26.

PREPOSITIONS.

AD is used for *apud: integri ad deum*, holy before God, 110, 29. Notable is *ad hodiernum*, till this day, 46, 29, and elsewhere.

ANTE is used in elliptical expressions: *ante plumbum*, before lead was brought into use, 51, 18.

APUD is used for *in* with the ablative: *apud Italiam*, in Italy, 47, 15; *apud literas sanctas*, in the holy Scriptures, 71, 2; *apud istam disciplinam*, in this system, 91, 16.

De often represents a genitive relation, like *of* in English. Sometimes an instrumental: *de diligentia inquirere*, to inquire with diligence, 26, 5; *de crudelitate*, by means of cruelty, 43, 20; and often.

De is also often used for *ex*, *propter*, and *secundum*. Notable phrases are, *de pectore orare*, pray out of the heart, 84, 13; *de deo pati*, to be inspired, 73, 18; *confitebitur de vero*, confess according to truth, 73, 16. So *de falso*, falsely, 73, 17; *de cetero* = *in posterum*, for the future, 29, 18; *de die* = *in dies*, 39, 1.

Ex is used in the following notable phrases: *ex aequo*, equally, 90, 16; *ex fide*, in good faith, 31, 27; *ex arce*, tyrannical, 34, 25; *ex abundanti*, more than needful, 58, 16.

In occurs with the ablative of time: *quo in tempore*, at which time, 61, 27. In notable phrases: *in continenti*, *συνεχῶς*, all together, at once, 74, 21; *introivit in seculum*, became known, 36, 11.

Penes is used for *in* with the ablative: *penes Africam immolabantur*, are sacrificed in Africa, 42, 31; for *apud*: *penes vos*, in your region, 47, 7; in your tradition, 61, 16; *penes inferos*, in the lower regions, 74, 28.

Post is used in elliptical expressions: *post Oenotriam*, after it was called Oenotria, 47, 20; *post imperium*, after the empire was attained, 79, 17; and the like.

Prae *manu esse*, to be at hand, 82, 15.

Praeter (adv.) *unico digito*, except on one finger, 38, 7.

Sub *tali conscientia vivere*, to live under such a consciousness (of guilt), 42, 25.

ADVERBS.

Adverbs may combine with substantives—

1. Attributively: *iterum Christianus*, again a Christian, 31, 28; *non Christiani*, non-Christians, 31, 32; 89, 7; *tot exinde principibus*, so many from-that-time princes, 36, 28; *cuius ubique saltus*, whose every-where indulgences, 45, 27; *rursus ac rursus resurrectio*, repeated resurrection, 110, 25.

2. Predicatively: *quid sit liquido*, what may be clear, 26, 4; *pariter aetate est*, he is equal in age, 63, 6.

ADEO = ideo, *and so*, 27, 28; 34, 5; and often.

ALIAS, *for another reason*, 44, 7.

CETERUM = sed, 26, 18, and often.

DIRECTO, *plainly*, 27, 9.

ERGA = contra, 26, 23.

INGRATIS, *unwillingly*; 34, 19.

OLIM = fere, *commonly*, 54, 25.

PLANE (ironical), 88, 31, and often.

PROINDE, *in like manner*, 70, 28.

QUA = in quantum, 36, 24.

QUANDO = quandoquidem, 27, 30.

RETRO, *formerly*, 27, 13.

SEMEL, *once for all*, 43, 31.

TEMPLATIM, VICATIM, 100, 28, 29.

VICE, *after the manner of*, 82, 2.

PRONOUNS.

ALIQUIS is sometimes omitted, 69, 27; is added to proper names for emphasis, 50, 20; = alius quilibet, 73, 29; is coupled with *ille*, 49, 7.

ALTERUTER = alter pro altero, *for each other*, 94, 5.

ILLE ALIQUIS, 49, 7.

ISTE = hic, 102, 8, and often.

NULLUS = nemo, 41, 22; added to proper names for emphasis, 37, 9, 10.

QUANTI = quot, 27, 17, and often.

TANTI = tot, 27, 17, and often.

VERBS.

The INDICATIVE is used for the subjunctive (*a*) in *oratione obliqua*, 78, 7, and often; (*b*) after *cum* causal, 24, 26, and often.

The INFINITIVE is freely used as an object or subject: *habent sapere*, they have wisdom, 72, 11. Compare *quem habemus odisse*, whom we ought to hate, 90, 21. It is used to express purpose, 95, 32.

Capit with the infinitive, *is able, can*, 59, 2, and elsewhere.

Inquit with indefinite subject *aliquis* understood, 28, 2; 30, 31.

Multum est si, 69, 21.

Parum est si, 37, 30.

Viderit, 57, 12, 13, and often.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

M. means *Ad Martyres;* T., *De Testimonio Animae;* A., *Apologeticus;* Sc., *Ad Scapulam;* Sp., *De Spectaculis.* Roman numerals refer to chapters, figures to pages.

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